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West Europe Report

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12 March 1986

WEST EUROPE REPORT

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DEFRAIGNE ON DECLINING INFLUENCE OF PARLIAMENT

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 4 Dec 85 pp 35-43

[Interview with Jean Defraigne, Liege lawyer and member of parliament, on the lost prestige of parliament by Frans Verleyen and Chris de Stoop: "Sometimes Certain Things Must Simply Be Said"; date and place not given]

[Text] In recent years, the Belgian parliament has been afflicted by special powers, mammoth laws, absenteeism, legal proceedings and other ills, but fortunately it has had a strong personality at the helm: the Liege lawyer Jean Defraigne (Liberal Reform Party [PRL]), who has now been a member of parliament for exactly 20 years, forcefully wielded the chairman's gavel during the Martens III and Martens V administrations, and was respected more by the opposition than among his own majority because of his always independent positions.

His speech following the Heizel tragedy in particular, when he denounced the failure of those who were in responsible positions, was applauded by some but others considered it his swan-song with which he made his position definitively untenable among liberals and Christian democrats. This would be particularly sad for our parliament, where discouragement has grown a great deal in recent years because real decisions were made less in the hemicycle than in the smoke filled rooms of the cabinets and party headquarters.

Question: Do you also have the impression that it is increasingly difficult for a parliament to exist in a socio-political environment which is increasingly less friendly toward parliament? That the parliamentary spirit is seriously deteriorating?

Jean Defraigne: Undoubtedly. A few months ago I read a survey on the Belgian institutions. Only 15 percent of the people felt that parliament had the greatest influence, but to the question of desirability more than 60 percent answered that it was precisely parliament which should have the greatest power. Such a contradiction speaks volumes. What is the reason that parliament's power has been emptied? First of all, it is the same people who have to make decisions in the parties and in parliament, and once something has been decided it should not be decided again somewhere else, otherwise there will be a risk of contradiction. The same is true for the government bibles in which small issues are also settled, and which consequently do not need to be decided a second time either. In the past, a government declaration was three sheets long, but because of distrust among the parties they now require written guarantees for everything.

Secondly, there are the pressure groups, the unions, the health insurance funds and the like, which do not present their grievances to parliament, but play out their influence directly with the government and with the media. Of course, the advent of the media is in and of itself already an important factor: someone like Minister Tindemans who now explains his views on the Geneva negotiations on RTBF, would in the past have done this in a parliamentary committee or in a plenary session. The work is also becoming more and more difficult; parliament is really drowning in problems. That affects its effectiveness, and to have power one must, above everything, be efficient. The contract to equip parliament with data processing equipment will probably be signed this month yet, which will somewhat reduce the work already. In order to know what has already been asked and answered about a subject, representatives now have to undertake lengthy research, but then a push of a button will be sufficient as in the French parliament.

Parliament has indeed lost a great deal of prestige, but one should not forget that this is true for everything, the family, the school, the employer, the whole political scene. Public opinion is also better equipped and trained to spout criticism. When I was a small boy, municipal council elections were followed closely but the national government was less targeted simply because people knew less. In a democracy one fortunately has the right to express criticism; it is precisely in totalitarian states that the institutions still enjoy some prestige. The danger in our country, however, is that a citizen who expresses his opinion no longer accepts the possibility of it being rejected by the majority, that he no longer recognizes the legitimate authority of numbers.

Question: Public opinion is better trained, but the members of parliament seem to be experiencing a reverse evolution, aren't they?

Defraigne: That is true. I am following closely the French debate on the electoral system, and some politicians there feel that the proportional electoral system precisely strengthens the influence of the parties and reduces the quality of the candidates. That is the problem here. But the fact that we have fewer high class members of parliament now is also due to the disappearance of the so-called "elite" and "bourgeois," who did have training and tradition. Now we see people who lack the necessary training, who make it only via their social service. I recognize that it is necessary for a member of parliament to help citizens with their problems, but couldn't this be taken care of by his political secretary? After all, the parliamentary parties now have much more personnel than they used to have. And then the members of parliament could devote themselves to thinking, the large issues, that is their task. They should also concern themselves less with details; they are turning too much into technocrats.

Kamikaze

Question: Professor Storme occasionally says that today's members of parliament have become mere social workers.

Defraigne: Yes, of course. And that is not acceptable. But then I ask the question: why did Marcel Storme, Guy Schrans and those few high quality figures specifically leave parliament?

Question: According to Prime Minister Martens parliamentary work is not seen enough as a fulfilling calling. Members of parliament usually dream of escaping parliament and becoming minister or secretary of state or something like that.

Defraigne: That is both a reason for and a consequence of deteriorating parliamentary power. I myself have been minister for more than 3 years, and as chairman I have also managed a kind of ministerial cabinet here. But the work is basically of a different nature; it is a totally different approach to the problems and the possible solutions. Now, if a member of parliament really plays a significant role at the legislative level and in the area of major social choices, then he will automatically be less tempted to become a minister. But then he should also be given the resources and status of a minister. Listen, people will say that we are currently living in a crisis period -- and I am not pleading for myself, because a parliamentary chairman is not that badly paid -- but for a member of parliament who does not have a working partner, who only receives his salary and whose costs are very high, it is impossible to live in the circumstances in which the country's officials normally should live! I am also well aware of the fact that the communists receive the wages of a factory worker and give the rest to the party, but that is really not proper for a member of parliament.

Question: Who is to blame for the depreciation of parliament? Is it parliament itself which is becoming separated or is it the government and the cabinets which are taking too much power?

Defraigne: I don't think that the government is really intent on expanding its power. It is simply the result of a whole series of rules which everyone accepts without question, which nobody dares to go against. Here also the representatives are tied hand and foot to their party. In the current French electoral system, whether it takes place in one round or two, members of parliament have more independence with regard to their party because it is "their" election, because "they" have personally earned the favor of the voters. But how can one vote for anything but the parties in our system? The individual revolt of people is a good thing, but few people in our parliament feel called to be kamikazes.

Question: But you yourself have taken quite some risks, haven't you? Did you have to push hard now for your chairmanship?

Defraigne: I only banged on the table when they proposed to keep the senior member on as chairman, which would really have been an act of distrust and a rude way to disavow me. I did indeed take risks, but they were well weighed every time. There are times when certain things simply have to be said. Following the Heizel disaster on Wednesday evening 3 or 4 days went by during which others could have asked the question about responsibility, but because that didn't happen I did it on Monday. I was criticized a great deal for that.

Fortunately this was followed by the sound work of the investigation committee. But everything went wrong in the debate on the subject: the PRL in particular behaved lamentably. First there was the tough speech by Robert Henrion, and then they decided not to vote on the committee's conclusions; that made me so angry. I don't like horses that refuse to take an obstacle; I prefer that they take the risk of falling on their face. At that time I didn't succeed in turning in my resignation from the PRL however; I had already written the letter, but as is well known at that time the lid flew off the kettle in a different way. Fear for my position has never yet kept me back however. As soon as a majority of the House wants me to leave, I will do that.

Technocrats

Question: But even the chairmanship is not arranged by the House; it is part of a package deal worked out at Stuyvenberg.

Defraigne: True, and I regret that; something like that should be returned to the hands of parliament itself. In England the function of chairman is completely protected, which guarantees a high degree of independence, but here things are much more awkward.

Question: You also stuck out your neck pretty far in connection with the special powers. The first time you voted in favor of them, the second time you abstained, why not vote against them a third time?

Defraigne: That depends on the concrete text. I don't say in principle: that cannot be done, because I am in favor of a redistribution of the cards between the legislative and the executive power. Some things should simply not come before parliament, such as the numbering of highways and the like. Members of parliament get too much of a technocratic role; they should be concerned more with decisions of principle than with technical solutions. But if you want to regulate the retirement age of professors, then I say no, that is not a technical matter but it concerns the social order and thus should be handled by parliament. My basic criticism of the special powers is that they are implemented haphazardly, hoping for the best. For 50 years now, they have been working on and off with special powers; that should really be regulated in the constitution. I am very sorry that the new parliament is not a constituent one, because after 150 years of Belgium's existence some things really could stand revision. And here I am obviously talking about Brussels, but also about all the other non-community related issues. For example, the fact that we are now in a situation where a European treaty is more directly applicable than our constitution is after all rather paradoxical. All of that must be rethought. Our parliamentary constitutional monarchy must also evolve. Should we go more or less toward a presidential system, in the direction of the French or the American system? The fact that we are stuck with two communities here is always a handicap.

Question: The House has been greatly renewed and rejuvenated now. Don't you find it a little cynical that quite a number of those youthful members of parliament immediately put themselves out of the game by voting for the special powers?

Defraigne: That breaks my heart and deeply disappoints me. When I got into parliament as a young man in the mid-sixties, the then Vanden Boeynants government also requested special powers and I voted against them. Whereupon the liberal Van Audenhove said that I had no political experience at all and didn't know anything about it.

Question: Couldn't we propose as an alternative that parliament commit itself to respect a strict time limit for certain matters?

Defraigne: And if that limit is exceeded, then the law is automatically adopted -- yes, that could be a valid alternative. As a matter of fact, the basic problem of those special powers is the time during which a measure is adopted. One could also give some thought to eliminating treatment in the plenary session, so that votes in committees would be sufficient.

Question: But then we would be another step higher in delegated democracy.

Defraigne: The committee and parliament, that is the same isn't it? After all, it virtually never happens that the plenary session votes differently from the committee. It is true that the small parties have no right to vote in those committees, but they can attend the sessions, introduce amendments and speak.

Question: You are in favor of a Senate based on parity, but isn't parity already built in the government?

Defraigne: But that is not really serious, is it? We all know that the parity does apply to the number of portfolios, but certainly not to authority. The Flemish ministers always have more power and weight. A Senate based on parity would benefit the French speakers, but also the Flemish. We have two almost equally large communities -- after all, the French speakers represent a strong minority of 43 percent -- and in order to prevent such a state from bursting it is essential that one group not be able to push the other to the wall. With all due respect to Many Ruys -- indeed one of my workers, but I have a few technical matters to settle about that --, but allow me to laugh when he talks about a Greater-Netherlands in the 21st century, because I am not convinced that this would be beneficial for the Flemish. I have noticed a significant shift in Walloon public opinion: the younger people between 20 and 30 years of age, such as my children, did not experience the tough language struggle, and it is hard to sensitize them to community and linguistic questions. They take the national tricolor to Rotterdam for the Netherlands-Belgium game! Whether the same is also occurring in Flanders, I don't know. My son recently stood next to Flemings at the soccer stadium in Mechelen, and after their team had won the game they said to him in French: that will teach you to waste the money of the Flemings! Today, we are seeing the language parties withering away, but that doesn't mean very much because at the same time the large parties are becoming increasingly community oriented.

Question: You are pleading for protection of the French speaking minority, but shouldn't the parliamentary minority also be protected? The opposition has no status at all. As a matter of fact, what do you think about the current opposition?

Defraigne: Yes, well, the best system is the English, the democratic system par excellence where the opposition also enjoys a great deal of protection and appreciation. The quality of the opposition here is very different. The Flemish Socialist Party [SP] is a very good group which produces sound work, and the People's Union [VU] doesn't do badly either, even though it has fewer high caliber people. But it seems to me that the Walloon Socialist Party [PS] is very uninterested in the national parliament. Perhaps this will improve now that they have been removed from the Executives also.

Coat Rack

Question: Parliament was somewhat revalued by the Heizel committee, except during the debate on the matter. Do you support the proposal to set up a new parliamentary investigation committee on the police services?

Defraigne: If it is demonstrated that it could perform useful work, but I'm not completely convinced of that. I am afraid that it would want to play the role of a kind of second investigating judge, which is not its role. It could do meaningful work, however, concerning principles, police organization, training and equipment. Let me tell you this anecdote: 2 weeks ago I was leaving parliament and I saw a gendarme who was standing there with a submachine gun to protect us, providing information to foreigners! If that isn't symptomatic -- after all, the gendarmerie is not a tourist agency, is it? Terrorists and gangsters want to destabilize public opinion, and with some success, because people have little or no confidence left in the authorities. Karel van Miert's reaction was intended to take advantage of that feeling. The fact that military personnel now have appeared on the street scene doesn't bother me because, after all, human lives are at stake, but it is too bad that they are using conscripts who are not really trained for that rather than career soldiers.

Question: Aren't we headed for a strong, authoritarian state?

Defraigne: I am in fact an advocate of a state which fulfills its functions efficiently and in an authoritarian manner, because in a system like ours it is justified to do that by the voice of the people. People accept that; what they do reject is the state which concerns itself with everything, imposes mountains of paperwork, and issues regulations in all areas. What citizen can say even now that he meets all his obligations and follows all the rules? That is untenable. I am a defender of the small businessmen, because they are independent and know how to get by, but when you see to what extent access to those professions is being overregulated now, then we're back in the Middle Ages. I recently read that book about Saint Anthony's monastery in Paris, "les dames des faubourgs" [The Ladies of the Suburbs], about furniture manufacturers of the time and the like: at that time there were regulations for anything and everything, a nail had to be hammered in one way, and if it was done another way then the work was assigned to another craftsman. Sometimes I think that we are back into that corporatism of the Middle Ages. At my lawyer's office, a female inspector came to see whether labor conditions were all right, whether there was a coat rack to hang coats on, and such. Please! That leads to grotesque excesses, and ultimately turns against those who are

supposed to be protected. When you see that the cadres of the gendarmerie don't even get filled up while in other services masses of civil servants perform senseless work, then you really start thinking. People's lives are complicated needlessly with trivialities. There are more people working on a 50 frank file than when a citizen has to receive a 3 million frank refund from the tax administration; that drags on indefinitely then. It is the technocratic disease.

Question: The fact that sometimes your parliament also performs shoddy and dubious legislative work was proven by this paper's violating the prohibition on publishing opinion polls.

Defraigne: Yes, but you cannot defend attempts to influence the voters with false surveys which are dished up as scientific and neutral, can you? It is true that the prohibition should have been limited to 8 days before the elections, as in France, because 1 month is greatly exaggerated, but I am not a priori opposed to it. Of course there are a variety of freedoms at stake here, which could conflict with one another: should one give preference to freedom of the press or freedom of the voters? Fortunately, the quality standards of such a poll are also determined by the same law. But I admit, the legislative work there has been rather improvised and has taken place hastily because the law had to take effect *per se* before the elections.

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CSO: 3614/50

FLEMISH SOCIALISTS ON REGIONAL ISSUES

Brussels LE SOIR in French 19 Dec 85 p 2

[Article by Guy Duplat: "'Every Man For Himself': The SP Wants To Take 12 Billion Away From the Walloons"]

[Text] Has the SP become a leftist Flemish People's Union, as Alain Van de Biest, the Socialist deputy, proclaimed? In any event, in their struggle against the Martens-Gol government, Flemish Socialists seem ready to use any weapon, including a machine gun against communities. French-speaking Socialists, by the way, are doing the same thing. The SP has taken a new step in attacking the heart of the of conflict: the money intended for communities and regions.

The traditional Flemish argument consists in saying that all new authority attributed to the regions and to the communities should be financed by the inhabitants of these regions and communities. "Flemish money for Flanders; Walloon money for Wallonia." However, solidarity prevails in two large areas: social security, which remains national, and the current grants to regions and to communities, which involve assistance between the regions. It is this latter solidarity which the SP today proposes to destroy by means of a proposal by the deputy, Marc Galle. If it were approved as such Wallonia would receive nearly 12 billion francs less each year, or 20 percent of its resources. On the other hand, Flanders would gain more than 8 billion per year, and Brussels would get 5.5 billion francs more.

The deputy, Marc Galle, and the SP president, Karel Van Miert, have studied the allocation of financial resources to regions and to communities. Today the central government redistributes 219 billion francs, including funds of the communes and provinces. The SP emphasizes that 90 percent of this redistribution is through grants and only 10 percent by means of tax rebates. In this latter case, it is money collected in a region and returned there. But in the former case, redistribution is carried out according to more complex "keys." For example, for the communities, 55 percent is for the Flemish community and 45 percent for the French community. For the regions and for the funds for communes, a key is used each time which takes into account territory size, population, and tax on income, each weighted one-third. The SP emphasized that the latter key disproportionately "favors" Wallonia, which has the advantage of a very large territory. The SP considers

the result profoundly unjust. When the average Belgian pays 100 francs, the Fleming receives only 92, the inhabitant of Brussels only 80, while the Walloon gets 120 francs.

The SP proposes an entirely different system. After 4-year transitional phase there would be nothing except tax rebates. Each region and each community would carry out its own policy with its own money.

The financial consequences of this exercise are impressive: the Flemish region would receive 82 billion instead of 74 billion as currently (including community funds), the Brussels region would be the big winner by receiving 17.6 billion instead of 12 billion today, while the Walloon region would bear the burden by dropping from 56.6 to 44.67 billion. The scenario would be identical for the communities. The Flemish community would go from 41 to 45 billion while the French community would go down from 32.3 to 28 billion.

Nevertheless, the SP proposes to maintain a "slight solidarity" within this system. If the average income of a region dropped below 95 percent of the average income of the country, this region would then have the right to compensation from the others. And the regions whose average income exceeded 102 percent of the average income of the country would be the ones required to pay to reach this 95 percent rule. Under present circumstances such a system would mean that the Brussels region would pay 830 million to the Walloon region.

Flemish Socialists justify their reform by explaining that the system they propose exists in all federalist countries and that it would even be exactly identical with the German system. "Nowhere is the territorial criterion granted such weight as in Belgium, except in Italy, and there only marginally."

For the SP the change from grants to tax rebates conforms with the spirit of the law of 9 August 1980 which emphasized the financial responsibility of the regions as much as it emphasized solidarity.

How is one to interpret this community "bomb" dropped by the SP? Flemish socialists want a meeting. Anyone listening to them can see that their proposition aims first of all at French speakers and particularly Walloon Socialists. In discussing this individual problem, separate from other disputes (ports, RTT), the SP wishes to point out that "Flanders helps Wallonia, and not the contrary as Mr Dehousse says repeatedly." The SP also wishes to have a meeting about Flanders and the inhabitants of Brussels. In future negotiations, they say, "Don't forget this financial argument. If people listened to us the problem of Brussels communes would be resolved like the one concerning Limburg coal mines." It is also a way to annoy the CVP in the coming months.

But the Flemish Socialists know that their proposal has no chance in the immediate future. It would be one step further toward dividing the country. Moreover, they do not ask for urgent action. They propose that it be discussed in Parliament within the framework of a basic discussion of state reform, where

it would be more advantageously placed, they say, than in the "deep freeze of the study center for national reform."

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CS0: 3619/15

CLERFAYT ON STRATEGY, FUTURE OF FRANCOPHONE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Brussels LE SOIR in French 14 Jan 86 p 2

[Interview with Georges Clerfayt of the FDF, by Janine Claeys: "The Other Parties Throw Banana Peels at Disturbing FDF"; date and place not given]

[Text] Georges Clerfayt is once again a happy president. In his early fifties, which he carries well, he once again believes in the future of his FDF which he has always considered indispensable.

We met with him on the day following the reconciliation of the two "clans." He told us specifically that he might be a candidate for the presidency next fall if the "desire for coherence" which manifested itself on Thursday is maintained. But he also admitted that he was sure that the other parties "disturbed by the FDF" would still try to throw banana peels at him. He will do everything to avoid them because, he said, his party "is irreplaceable" and, in order to pursue its action, it must avoid tying itself to either the left or the right.

[Question] When all is said and done, why did a reconciliation take place? Would it be because nobody within the party really wanted an explosion?

[Answer] The defense of Brussels and of the French speakers must still be taken on, and for that the FDF is irreplaceable. Hence, good sense prevailed in the end. And don't mix up the FDF with the Walloon Rally [RW], of which Mr Perin recently said that he had left it because it was a circumstantial party which could not survive: there was already a beginning of regionalization in Wallonia when Francois Perin rejoined the Liberal Reform Party [PRL], whereas today there still is no Brussels region. As a matter of fact, during our internal crisis I heard numerous expressions of despair from inhabitants of Brussels who didn't want to see us die... and I have also observed the savage joy of Flemings such as Gaston Geens, who believe they will soon be able to pick Brussels like a ripe apple. Whereas no inhabitant of Brussels, even if he has never voted for the FDF, should be happy about its weakening because it is the conscience and the spur of the other parties.

Long Live the Center!

[Question] Why were you so opposed to a simple "technical group" with the Walloon Socialist Party [PS]?

[Answer] The FDF is neither on the right nor on the left, but it is a humanistic and pluralistic party. Hence it cannot lie within the framework of bipolarization.

[Question] But you yourself negotiated with the Walloon Social Christian Party [PSC]...

[Answer] That was something completely different. It was a question of seeing whether the majority could or could not be broadened, in order to achieve a specific program. The current majority in the French Community, which is very small, did not want to have anything to do with it. But perhaps a month from now, a year from now, as Francoise Sagan would say... If they offer us proposals we will examine them, and if they include part of our program the general council will examine the case. It is completely different in the opposition: we wish to avoid the amalgamation of all the opposition parties. And we preferred concluding a purely technical agreement with a sizable party approximately equal in size to ours, which allows us to be equal partners. But I insist: there is no political agreement between us and the Ecology Party, and everyone maintains full freedom. Sometimes we will support the proposals made by the Ecology Party, sometimes we won't, and sometimes we will support the argument of the third opposition party, the PS. And it should not be excluded that sometimes we might support majority projects.

[Question] But if the three opposition parties had formed a single technical group, you would have obtained a majority within the commissions.

[Answer] To obtain that result from 8 members as against 7 for the social democrats and the liberals it would have been necessary for everyone to agree. But the Ecology Party did not want to have anything to do with that solution and it appeared that part of the FDF did not either. Moreover, the social Christian-liberal majority would have had an easy response: it would be enough for the two parties to form a technical group together for them to regain the majority within the commissions.

[Question] How were you able, at the last minute, to pull that proposal of a technical group with the Ecology Party out of your sleeve?

[Answer] I have always kept in contact with the Ecology Party. There had been an interruption, but they had let us know that they were still takers. They repeated that information to us following the Christmas truce.

Party Too Rich in Multiple Intelligences

[Question] Do you think that the FDF will be able to follow for long? That its members will get along in the future?

[Answer] I am not a fortune teller. But given that the problem of Brussels has still not been settled... Furthermore, we don't want the FDF to be solely a linguistic and institutional party, but we want to have the imagination to propose solutions to social problems which are different from those proposed by the traditional parties for the last 100 years. As a matter of fact, we

want a centrist type pragmatism. Note that the traditional parties are not very effective in dealing with the crisis, and that there is little difference between the Martens government and the Fabius government. To me then, there is room for a non-dogmatic party which is neither to the left nor to the right.

[Question] Will Mrs Spaak be able to forgive you for not having voted for her when she became a candidate to the presidency of the French Community Council?

[Answer] I, myself, have even forgiven her for having made a foolish mistake, which she has just corrected, and I want people to stop talking about it. You know, sometimes the FDF has problems because it is too rich in multiple intelligences.

[Question] Will you be a candidate to the presidency of the party next fall?

[Answer] It's a little early to say. But why not, if the coherence which manifested itself last Thursday, is maintained? It will obviously not be easy given that the FDF disturbs the others who, for years, have been intent on dividing us, on throwing banana peels at us and on seducing our stars.

[Question] Were you afraid that part of the FDF might join the RDB of Messrs Serge Moureaux and Defosset?

[Answer] That would have been so utterly contrary to the basic commitment of our members, because when you subscribe to bipolarization you are not helpful to Brussels. And the RDB is a satellite of the PS. However, it is true that numerous contradictory rumors have circulated, rumors which can be tied to the maneuvers of the other parties to try to kill us.

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PSF'S POPEREN ON ELECTIONS, IMMIGRANTS

Paris L'EVENEMENT DU JEUDI in French 19-25 Dec pp 14-15

[Interview with Jean Poperen, number two leader of the French Socialist Party: "Jean Poperen: 'A Referendum? Why not?' by Liliane Sichler; date and place not specified]

[Text] There were smiles and whispers at the Socialist Party management committee Saturday. Icy smiles for Laurent Fabius, the "troubled" man in the government, who received only polite greetings despite his friendly and exceptional visit (this is only the second time he has attended a meeting of the management committee since he has been prime minister).

Dreamy smiles for Pierre Mauroy, the ex-prime minister who, with renewed inspiration, sounded the Mitterrandist call in the third basement of the National Assembly: "Let us scratch the word 'cohabitation' from the political debate, my brothers, and let us not allow ourselves to become obsessed by the 1986 elections! A single program: Mitterrand! A single trump: Mitterrand! A single thought: Mitterrand!" Lastly, understanding smiles for Lionel Jospin who, despite the majestic shadow of the president, had the admirable courage to repeat: "I am leading the Socialist campaign. Francois Mitterrand is leading the French combat." As for whispers, the union leaders gleefully spiked their asides with sour commentary. "Poor Fabius!" said one of them with hypocritical pity. "You could hardly hear him enter the room." "I hear Mitterrand is having a great time," sighed another. "Not us, though. We're completely at sea." Michel Rocard only put in a brief appearance and remained conspicuously silent. "What do you expect him to say?" explained a faithful follower. "He is only one elected representative among many." The next day in NEWSWEEK, however, we were all to learn his somber prognosis for 1986 and his plans as future president of the republic, should the occasion arise.

Not withstanding, Jean Poperen, the number two leader of the PS, agreed to speak out to us.

L'EVENEMENT DU JEUDI: How do you explain the president's frequent appearances on radio and television lately?

Jean Poperen: In the current climate, at the beginning of what is nevertheless shaping up to be a difficult battle, we cannot reject the hypotheses of a

series of personal initiatives on the part of the president. It would be consistent with events since last summer.

[Question] A referendum?

[Answer] A referendum is not impossible, after all.

[Question] So, is Mitterand leading the campaign?

[Answer] Political reality is what it is. It is normal for many people to consider the president's and the PS's campaign to be one and the same. The Socialist campaign must be based on policies that the president represents incontrovertibly, with the continuity he is able to insure for those policies. He has set the irreducible limits of his actions, now and after 1986. So it is normal for him to commit himself.

[Question] And if 1986 is a failure?

[Answer] Mitterand has said how far he can go.

[Question] Will the Socialists accept many Jaruzelski affairs?

[Answer] The Socialist identity today is based on a number of symbols. Poland and Solidarity constitute one of those symbols. How could the Jaruzelski visit fail to shock? In each case, political advantages must be weighted against costs. Naturally, it would be unjust and superficial not to take the obligations of intergovernmental relationships into account.

[Question] What was your reaction?

[Answer] You would like me to say I was "troubled," wouldn't you? Let's say it was an unexpected event.

[Question] Was Fabius "unjust and superficial" in the Assembly?

[Answer] He was, shall we say, spontaneous. He has often been reproached for the opposite, I think.

[Question] In short, the PS is getting ready to go on the warpath?

[Answer] The Socialists are not going to tear one another apart three months before the elections, especially when for the first time, the number of people favorable to our policies has risen. Things are changing, and they'll keep changing. Our support is up; the polls show it. Changes in opinion are greater prior to elections. We've had very encouraging polls from four or five departments, giving us 28 or 29 percent. Twenty-eight percent or above would be a good showing for the PS.

[Question] What do you think of Michel Rocard's pessimism in this week's NEWSWEEK?

[Answer] Why show such conviction of failure? And why give the impression that defeat today would be the best way to prepare for victory tomorrow?

[Question] Apparently, the CFDT is wondering whether Poperen is any better than Stasi.

[Answer] I'm not surprised. Certain people in the CFDT have never been quite able to tell the difference between the Left and the Right. Stasi clearly distanced himself from the extreme Right, which is good. But, for me, that's not enough. The analyses proposed by the "second Left" have often been mistaken for those of the entire Left. The Third World, for instance, has often been seen in a sentimental and sometimes utopian light. Everything that comes out of the Third World is not progressive. What was progressive were the liberation movements in these countries. As for the rest, we must base our judgements on the evidence--judge the facts. The same is true of immigration.

[Question] You are in favor of assimilating the immigrants and therefore, in fact, against a pluralistic society. That shocks some people.

[Answer] Throughout our history, there has been intermixing of races and cultures. There were the Danubians, the Celts, the Latins, the Germans, the Arabs. So please, let's not make groundless accusations! Semanticists draw a fine line between "assimilation," "insertion," and "integration." For me, it's clear: as long as the immigrants wish to do so, it is better for them to be part of the national community and for all of us to constitute a single people.

[Question] How?

[Answer] We must make naturalization procedures easier. I am a mayor, and I know that it takes years of administrative bother to become a French citizen. Of course, if they want to remain Algerian or Portuguese, we must protect their rights and respect them. But if a man, whatever his race, decides definitively to work and to live in France, then our country should become his country.

[Question] Would you eliminate all differences?

[Answer] Of course not! I don't deny the existence of cultural differences, but I don't want to bet too heavily on them. The national identity evolves like a tree. Fifty years from now, it will be different. A person will have a grandfather from North Africa the way someone today has a grandfather from Auvergne. Unless the glorification of ethnic differences, encouraged by a certain faction on the Right, gains the upper hand. In that case, we would be headed towards terrible racial confrontation.

[Question] Are you in favor of granting immigrants the right to vote?

[Answer] I am not sure that doing so would facilitate understanding. The president's insistence on this point merits reflection. The Socialists should encourage naturalization to be a part of the process whenever possible. Look at the kids at school. Do you think they worry what color skin their friends have?

[Question] If we follow you, France is going to change.

[Answer] Yes. I have never advocated racial purity, you know. The France of the year 2050 will not be at all like the France of 1986.

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POLITICAL

FRANCE

DUMAS DISCUSSES LIBYA, IRAN, TERRORIST POLICY, POLITICS

Bordeaux SUD-OUEST in French 17 Jan 86 p 2

[Interview with Roland Dumas, minister of foreign affairs, by Joel Aubert and Philippe Ducos: "Europe Has a Specific Terrorism Problem"; date, place not specified]

[Text] [Question] After Chad and the terrorist acts, Col **al-Quadhafi** became much too prominent in the news. From the standpoint of the Americans, he accomplished the feat of garnering the support of his worst enemies in the Arab world. What is France's reaction?

[Answer] Operation Manta in Chad was designed to halt the foreign invasion. It was withdrawn a year ago now at the end of a process marked by the departure of the Libyans. Although they have returned, they have nonetheless not gone beyond the limits we set, the red line of the 16th parallel which ensures that the cities, economic interest centers and nearly the entire population of the country will be protected.

[Question] There are, however, troop movements which are of concern to Ndjamena.

[Answer] This is true, from time to time. But the red line has not been crossed. I will remind you of the French president's position: "Any attempt to launch new military operations will run up against a specific response." We do not accept the presence of Libyan troops still left in the North. It is up to the people of Chad and their government, headed by Hissene Habre (and up to the African people in general, if they feel it would be useful to help them) to find a way to unify the country. France's firm policy has borne fruits and we will maintain this policy, whether it is an election year or not.

[Question] The Americans want the Europeans to follow them in adopting economic sanctions against Libya. What is your response?

[Answer] The United States has adopted specific measures in keeping with the important relations between that country and Libya. France's situation is different. Only 800 of our compatriots, entire families included, reside or

work in Libya. Our exports have gone down by a ratio of four to one since 1981. Our oil imports accounts for less than 5 percent of our total consumption. This was done on purpose by France. We are far from the old times, from the times of previous administrations, when we patted ourselves on the back for selling dozens of mirage jets to Libya.

[Question] But you help support them!

[Answer] We do not sell them arms! I have serious doubts whether Americans believe that Europeans could adopt measures similar to theirs. To go to the heart of the matter, Europe has a specific problem of imported terrorism. France has often been a victim of it. We spare no efforts in our fight against terrorism and terrorists. I will ask my European colleagues to look into this phenomenon and its various aspects. At our next council meeting on 27 January, we will be studying means to combat this together.

[Question] Let's not deceive ourselves. Cooperation among Europeans is in its infancy!

[Answer] This is true. But it is also true that our capitals are threatened. France will submit proposals on collecting data, processing information, modalities for action, etc. Everything that is effective in this area is not necessarily governmental.

[Question] France is also concerned over the Middle East conflict. What way out do you see? And what about the hostages?

[Answer] We have been advocating a common-sense approach for 4 years: we feel that the parties who are waging war should hold talks and recognize each other. Israel should be accepted and recognized by all Arabs, the rights of the Palestinians should also be recognized, and the PLO should have its say in the peace negotiations. If direct contacts between the parties are out of the question for the time being, there could be contacts in the context of a forum or international conference. We would support any steps in this direction. As far as the hostages are concerned, you know where we stand. Our initiatives have been intensified in recent weeks. They are always of the same sort, directed to the responsible governments in the region and not to anyone group. We have benefitted from our good relations with Syria and have tried to mitigate the dispute with Iran. Ambassador Martin's trip to Teheran was constructive. A second meeting on the conflict with Iran will be held in a few weeks.

[Question] On the major European issues, relations between Paris and Bonn seem to be somewhat weary, or even wobbly. What is the status?

Answer: An easing off at times, but never a weariness. Europe will advance only by great efforts. At Fontainebleau, France managed to resolve past disputes. I am proud of this. We inherited 17 different matters of dispute from 1981! Then the expansion. It is strange how public opinion changes! A number of those who used to be hostile are no longer so.

Among the opposition, Mr Barre came out clearly in favor of expansion, Giscard d'Estaing approved ratification of the treaty, and the RPR, which for electoral reasons was fiercely opposed, has softened the tone of its speeches. After having said "We will renegotiate"--which was ridiculous--it is saying: "We will review certain modalities." Thus the RPR won't do anything. And that will be fine.

In Europe, good relations between France and Germany are largely responsible for what has been accomplished in the past 2 years. When Paris and Bonn are on the same wavelength, their force is irresistible. I have always noticed that.

[Question] Francois Mitterrand recently left observers perplexed when he rejected any notion of reserved domain. Is he to be believed?

[Answer] The president is right not to get involved in a discussion of this. The idea of reserved domain is a creation of General de Gaulle, who was setting aside a "plot" for himself. Francois Mitterrand is right when he says that this would limit his field of action and hem him in in a way.

The constitution gives the president important prerogatives in all areas: he is the head of the armed forces, he negotiates and signs treaties, he has dissuasive powers, etc. And that is not all. The possibilities offered him under the Constitution are extremely vast. Thus there is no reserved domain which would exclude the president of the Republic from certain sectors of public life. After March, the president can go full throttle on all fronts, availing himself of the rights conferred on him by the constitution, as is the case today.

[Question] If the opposition should win, then it is not doomed to withdraw into the Elysee....

[Answer] You are assuming a victory by the opposition. That is not my assumption. When the opposition talks about cohabitation, it is actually thinking of something different. Frequently one problem hides another.... The opposition in fact has in mind the presidential election. Some want to move it up, others want to avoid it. All this is a debate which does not concern either the majority or the true interests of France. The president is elected for a 7-year term. He will continue in office until the end of his term.

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PSF DEBATES ASSIMILATION, INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS

Various Positions

Paris LIBERATION in French 3 Dec 85 p 11

[Article by Eric Dupin: "The PS and Immigration: Quarrel over Assimilation"]

[Text] Jean Poperen, the PS's number 2 man, is for assimilating the immigrants. Rocard is for integration. Jospin and Chevenement are in between. In short, the PS is debating, and clarification is still a long way off.

Integration or assimilation? The future of the immigrant population in French society is a subject of debate within the Socialist Party. Jean Poperen put his foot in it Sunday evening on "Club de la presse," shown on Europe 1/Canal Plus. Poperen declared that he "had reservations about the prospect of a multi-ethnic, pluricultural France." He sees no alternative to "segregation" other than the "assimilation" of the immigrants. This statement contrasts sharply with Raymond Barre's recent remarks to the effect that "France is already a multiracial society." However, Poperen's stance is a personal one. He admits that the Socialists have yet to debate the matter thoroughly. At this stage, several different approaches coexist within the Socialist Party.

The closest to Poperen is probably Jean-Pierre Chevenement. The minister of national education does not use the term "assimilation," but his concept of "integration" is similar. He feels that the solution would be to make most of the immigrants who remain in France "citizens of the republic." According to Chevenement, this goal presupposes the establishment of a policy of voluntary integration: "What is neither healthy nor normal," he warned the last national convention of the PS, "is to believe that these communities will be integrated as a result of natural social give and take, and to refuse to adopt goals, a deadline or a budget to bring about this integration as quickly as possible."

Rather than insist on maintaining differences within French society, Chevenement emphasizes that France itself should be "enriched by all of these contributions--transformed, modified in its social and cultural components." Georges Sarre, national secretary of the PS (CERES), elaborated on the same viewpoint yesterday. He stated that he was "fiercely opposed to French society's having ghettos based on differences."

Michel Rocard poses the problem slightly differently. At the national convention, he criticized "assimilation--or in other words, the disappearance of differences," because it "is not a realistic goal" and because, by "denying the identity of others, it could only lead to authoritarianism." Rocard favors an "integration dialectic respecting differences." "Although it is the immigrants' responsibility to make an effort to achieve a minimum level of integration, we, on the other hand, must make social integration and the respect of differences go hand in hand." This outlook is close to the views of the moral and religious institutions that recently issued a solemn appeal against racism. The text condemned the call for "total assimilation" and stated that "customs, cultures and beliefs of different origins wish to assert themselves and to coexist within the national concord without losing their specificity."

Lastly, Lionel Jospin takes a middle position. He certainly prefers to talk about the "integration" rather than the "assimilation" of immigrants. Moreover, Jospin once observed that "the Right wants either to assimilate them or to expel them." Yesterday on the France-Inter broadcast "Face the Public," the first secretary did however ponder the appropriateness of "fine-tuning objectives according to the situation." More specifically, he stated that "for foreigners who want to become French citizens, the notion of assimilation is not shocking if we do not seek to assimilate them too quickly." Conversely, this notion would "not make sense" for the others.

As a matter of fact, Jospin emphasizes the Socialists' unanimity in opposing any "suppression" or "segregation" of the immigrants. It must be said that the Socialist are less clear about their philosophy for integrating these immigrants, and that they are hard pressed to specify the means of doing so.

Poperen Remarks

Paris LIBERATION in French 3 Dec 85 p 11

[Interview with Jean Poperen of the French Socialist Party: "Jean Poperen: The Debate Is Just Beginning"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Do you differentiate between assimilation and integration?

[Answer] I don't see any difference. There may be one, but you'll have to explain it to me.

[Question] Aren't you afraid that the assimilation of the immigrants that you preach might lead to the homogenization of French society?

[Answer] No. Assimilation has never eliminated either regional differences or the specificity of foreign populations living in France. May I remind you that on the "Club de la presse" I clearly stated that I had "reservations about the prospect of a so-called multi ethnic, pluricultural France, if what that means is that diversity would grow stronger within the French community and gain the upper hand." The last words in that sentence are the most important.

[Question] Do you disagree with "the common appeal for brotherhood" signed by the churches and the humanitarian or Masonic organizations?

[Answer] I understand all these assertions well, but I would like to know whether the Grand Orient of France has abandoned its concept of national identity. If so, some turn escapes me. I'm more inclined to believe that they got caught up in the words.

[Question] What do you think of the underlying assertion accepted by a certain part of the Right that the North Africans cannot be assimilated because they are Muslim?

[Answer] My reason in particular for taking this stance was to oppose that assertion. I am convinced that what I am recommending will take place, perhaps not with the "second generation" of immigrants--there the difficulties cannot be denied--but with the following generations.

[Question] The debate over immigration might have begun sooner. Aren't the Socialists partially responsible for sweeping it under the rug?

[Answer] I willingly concede your point. The debate is now open, and its only beginning.

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DATA ON DOM-TOM IMMIGRANTS RELEASED

Paris LIBERATION in French 23 Dec 85 p 10

[Article by Veronique Brocard: "'Domians' in Mainland France: Fully Different Immigrants"]

[Text] According to the first census of overseas populations living in France, the number of "Domians" working in France is on the rise. These people are more likely to work for the government than other French citizens, and their unemployment rate is near that of other immigrants.

Some are from "here," and some are from "over there": from mainland France or from the DOM-TOM [Overseas Departments and Territories]. They come and go between France and the islands. Referred to as "Domians", these natives of the West Indies or Reunion Island leave the land of their birth to work or to join their families in the "fatherland," mainland France. This flow of passengers encumbering Air France is in fact only superficial. With time, the communities have stabilized, each with its own economic necessities, its own social structures, and its own autonomy, making them different departments: three in the islands and one in France.

These are the facts just revealed by the first "census of overseas populations" living in France, conducted in 1982 by the INSEE [National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies], with an introduction by Georges Lemoine, secretary of state for the DOM-TOM. The INSEE begins with the following statistical observation: "The total number of people born in the DOM-TOM and living in mainland France increased by a factor of 12 between 1954 and 1982, climbing from 24,200 to 282,300." This immigrant population has two distinctive characteristics: for the most part, it is young (70 percent under 35, and 57 percent between 15 and 34) and female (51.2 percent of the DOM-TOM natives living in France).

More important in the eyes of the INSEE is the "transformation of a labor immigration into a settlement immigration." The process is classic. They came to work (60 percent are part of the active labor force, as compared to 43.4 percent of the mainland French and 42.4 percent of the foreign population), and they ended up putting down permanent roots. They formed families (the INSEE report states that "in 1982, the number living in a family setting was twice that in 1972.") Together with their children, they constitute a new

population "greater than the population of those born in the DOM-TOM"--a total of 402,000 in March 1982.

Another factor is employment. According to the INSEE, 80 percent of the "Domians" work in the service sector (or 20 percent more than the national average); and 54 percent work for national government, local government or the public services (less than a third of the French labor force as a whole falls into this category). They hold low-skill jobs, principally as service employees in hospitals, administrative offices, schools, and the postal and telecommunications administration.

This observation is not new, but it does shed light on the reasons why residents from the DOM-TOM choose to remain in France. At the same age and with the same training, they hold the same jobs in France as they do at home, which excludes any possibility of substitution, according to Claude Valentin Marie, official labor ministry representative and co-editor of the INSEE report. It is in fact impossible to increase the number of openings for postmen or nurses' aides in the West Indies or Reunion Island, already controlled by the government, simply to allow the "Domians" to go home.

Thus, the DOM-TOM immigration is quite distinct. Although French citizens, DOM-TOM natives sometimes experience the same problems as (foreign) immigrant workers. Despite their strong presence in the civil service, "the number of unemployed born in the DOM-TOM has increased by a factor of 3.1 since 1975, at much the same rate as that of the foreign unemployed (2.98)." Like the immigrant workers, 27 percent of the young of West-Indian or Reunion-Island origin are unemployed, far more than the average for the French as a whole of the same age (19 percent).

Although the "tendency toward a decrease in the overall level of qualification of DOM-TOM workers continues," there is a parallel "drop in the general educational level of recent immigrants." While the proportion of the French population as a whole with no degrees has diminished (43 percent in 1975, 37.8 percent in 1982), this proportion has increased among the "Domians" (43.5 percent in 1975, 45.2 percent in 1982).

"This is the result of the program carried out by the BUMIDOM [Office for the Development of Overseas Migrations] between 1975 and 1981," states Georges Lemoine, reaffirming his "total disagreement with Michel Debre, the advocate of this policy. He should face up to the figures," adds the secretary of state for the DOM-TOM, who feels that the INSEE report shows, if need be, that "to improve the economy of the overseas departments, we must give the young people prospects for the future instead of airplane tickets."

Although the "Domians" are dispersed throughout France, 60 percent live in Paris (41 percent in government-subsidized housing). A diverse community united by a single culture, these Parisians from the West Indies and Reunion Island have reason to wonder about their future in a society that calls them "fully French" but treats them more or less as immigrants. Therein lies one of the merits of the INSEE's statistical study; it demonstrates this ambiguity unequivocally.

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LONG TERM STABILITY IN SUPPORT OF PARTIES

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 13 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by Pieter Maessen: "Long Term Stability in Voter Support Characteristic of Political Parties"]

[Text] The Hague, 13 December -- Excitement about changes in voter preference is very often -- but not always -- exaggerated. Whether there is any reason for jubilation or whining can be determined with any certainty only many months after the polls. The graph, which was commissioned by NRC HANDELSBLAD and represents nearly 10 years of public opinion polls clearly shows this.

In analyzing this overview, Dr C. van der Eijck and Dr C. Niemoller from the University of Amsterdam stressed the continuity which exists, sometimes for years, in the support of political parties and the few moments when anything really changes in the voter landscape. The very high level of stability for the four parties between the beginning of 1980 and the middle of 1981 is very striking.

Following the elections of May 1977, the Labor Party [PvdA] and the Christian Democratic Appeal [CDA] remained at the same level for more than 2 years. The lengthy government formation and the introduction of the economizing program Specifications '81 had no impact on that. At the same time the Democrats '66 and the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy [VVD] were slowly growing toward one another.

By the end of 1979, two "bloes" of equally large parties had been created. For one-and-a-half years the CDA and the PvdA proceeded at an equal pace and the D'66 was as large, at times even larger than the VVD. To name but a few things, this was the period of the near collapse of the government over the question of South Africa, the cruise missile decision, the deductions on civil servant salaries, and the resignation of Minister Andriessen (Finance).

Turmoil

Significant changes began with the elections of 1981. Later on the field remained in turmoil during the periods of the second and third Van Agt administrations. When the Lubbers administration was well in the saddle, many voters made a new choice and a period of stability set in. The PvdA had clearly become the largest party and continued to grow for another 2 years. The CDA,

VVD and D'66 remained stable at their new level, but it was quite a different level from one-and-a-half years before.

A mathematical analysis of the graphs per party showed Van der Eijck and Niemoller that in the short term the PvdA is much more sensitive to political events than the three other parties. In the long term, the fluctuations for the D'66 are also very great, especially when one looks at the low level of both the beginning and the end of the line.

Until the 1977 elections, the CDA was larger than the PvdA. During the two first years of the Van Agt 1 administration, the PvdA remained larger. Then the PvdA declined and the two parties were of equal size until after the formation of the Van Agt 2 administration. Then, as a government party in the Van Agt 2 administration, the PvdA experienced a sharp decline until February 1982. That is also the period when people within the PvdA were talking about the "new socialism."

'Fighting Administration'

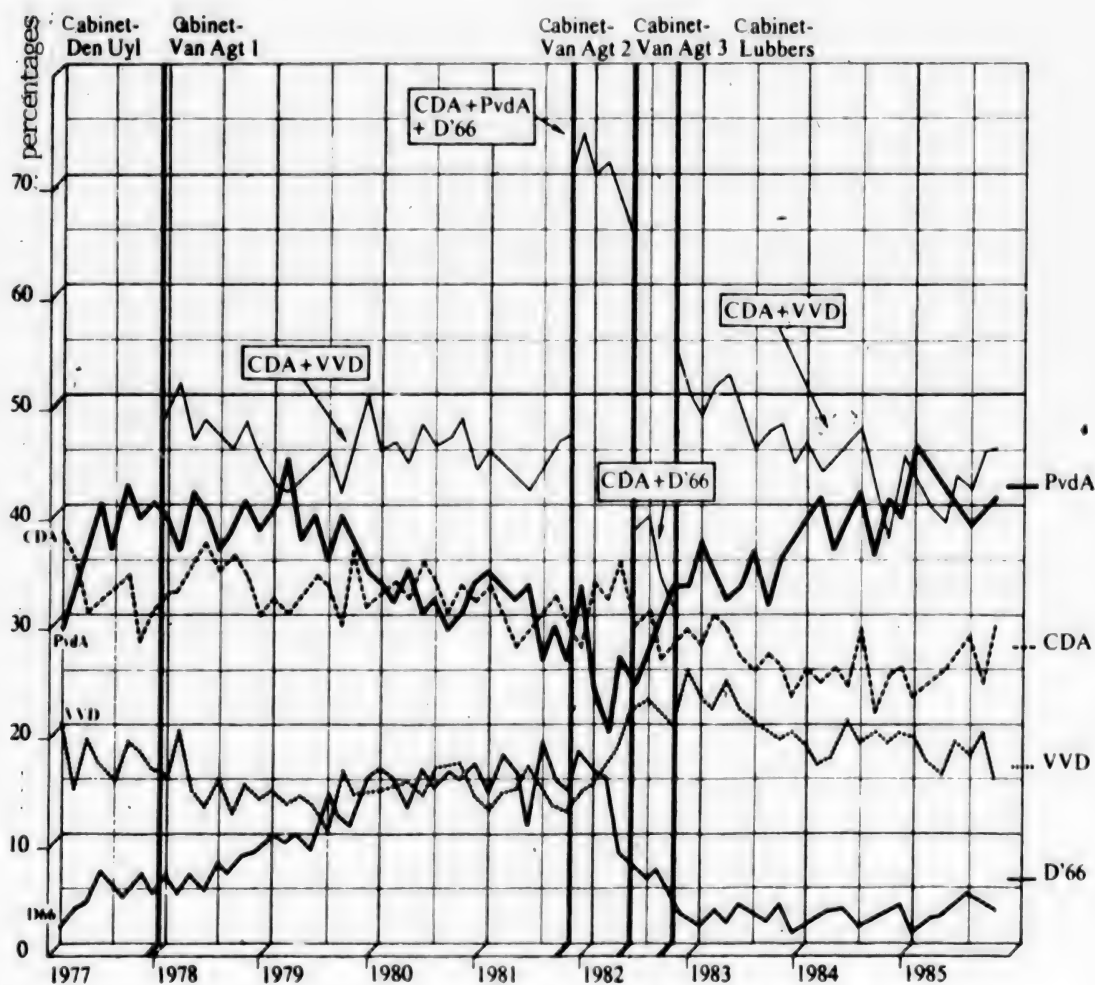
Shortly after the low point of February 1982 followed the break in the administration. As it turned out, the decline of the D'66 started only a few months after that of the PvdA, but then the setback of the D'66 is also very dramatic. When the break in the Van Agt 2 administration took place, the PvdA was already scrambling back. Soon the socialists were once again bigger than the CDA. The PvdA moved to an unprecedented high level, at which hesitations occurred again only in 1985. It is striking to what extent the advent of the Van Agt 2 "fighting administration" was a watershed for all four parties.

During the whole 10 year period the CDA was very stable, except for the periods during and after the 1981 elections. Fluctuations were also greater during the Lubbers administration than during the Van Agt era. The political events which took place during the period when Van Agt was prime minister did not seem to affect this party. If one were to draw a straight line however, it would show that the CDA is apparently suffering from an irresistible caving in, from a level around 37 percent to around 27 percent.

Between 1976 and 1979 the VVD experienced a gradual decline, then remained stable again during the Wiegel period in the Van Agt 1 administration, and shortly afterwards it clearly reached a higher level. The RSV hearings in the summer of 1984, which involved Minister Van Aardenne so much, left the VVD untouched. The level then was somewhat lower, however, than when the VVD was in the opposition.

For 3 years the D'66 succeeded in reaching the level of the VVD, but during the May 1981 elections it had to recognize the superiority of the VVD anyhow, and a year later it lost nearly all its support.

Graph: Ten Years of Voter Preference



Voters' party preference according to the weekly NIPO polls, expressed in 4 week periods.

The uppermost thin line is the total support of the government parties. The dotted lines at the end indicate the level the parties should be at if incidental events did not have an effect.

The data for the second half of 1985 were taken from AVRO-NIPO surveys.

The graph was put together by NRC HANDELSBLAD.

The uppermost thin line in the graph indicates the total support for the government parties. The two CDA-VVD coalitions nearly never reached the 50 percent limit. In 1984 and during the first half of 1985 the PvdA by itself was just as big as the two government parties together.

Environmental Factors

Van der Eijck and Niemoller developed a mathematical model with which they could eliminate the influence of small events on the graph. Therefore it is possible to make statements about how the trend of the parties would develop if those kinds of events did not take place. The four dotted lines at the end of the graph indicate what the trends of the parties should be in November and December "under unchanged conditions and with the elimination of environmental factors."

These "expected developments" can be compared with the actual polls up to and including 2 December. In early November, (immediately following the cruise missile decision and during debates on that issue), the CDA had reached a remarkable high point, which was not maintained however. In the latest polls, both the VVD and the D'66 scored remarkably lower than the trend which applied to them. "If this continues, it will no longer be a coincidental deviation," said researcher Van der Eijck.

(The figures until 2 December were made available by AVRO. Because of a difference in the calculation technique they cannot be compared with the figures made available in late November by AVRO television.)

Until the elections, Van der Eijck and Niemoller will regularly make a comparison for this newspaper between what is actually happening in the opinion polls and what could have been expected based on the 10 year trend. They are thus trying to make statements with more certainty than would otherwise be possible about the significance of changes in opinion polls.

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YOUTH POLLED ON PARTY PREFERENCE, POLITICAL VIEWS

Support for Parties

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 30 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by NRC HANDELSBLAD editor: "Youth Prefer Political Left"]

[Text] Rotterdam, 30 Dec--According to a survey conducted by the Inter/View research agency, the majority of youth between 15 and 25 years of age vote for the Left. The leftist parties would gain 80 seats in the Second Chamber if the 1,002 young people surveyed had it their way.

This was officially announced today by the National Study Group for the Year of Youth, which commissioned this survey. The year of youth set up by the United Nations was ceremoniously concluded today in Amsterdam by the study group. "The figures show that young people are not moving to the Right, as was once assumed," says J. Maaten, a staff member of the Study Group for the Year of Youth. Only 16 percent of young people are "weary," meaning dissatisfied with their own situation and unwilling to do something about it.

The interest of young people in the leftist parties is primarily at the expense of the CDA. According to a general survey of voters conducted nearly simultaneously by Inter/View, the Christian Democrats would go from 45 to 44 seats, but young people give the CDA no more than 30 seats in the Second Chamber. The PVDA in particular wins votes among the politically secularized youth. The socialists would rise from 47 to 67 seats. The VVD would not show a drop in popularity among young people as it now stands, but would go from 36 to 38 seats. The small leftist parties would go from 9 to 10 seats, and the small rightist parties would fall from seven to two seats.

Of the young people ineligible to vote, 59 percent would vote if it were possible. Of the youth eligible to vote, 77 percent intend to do so.

Eleven percent of the those surveyed are members of an interest organization, four percent of an environmental group and three percent of a labor union. Young people are especially concerned politically about racial discrimination (86 percent), pollution (82 percent), youth unemployment (82 percent), women's liberation (39 percent) and the squatter movement (25 percent).

Over one-quarter of young people have done volunteer work. Two-thirds of the youth are pursuing some kind of education. Of the unemployed youth, 29 percent are registered at an employment agency.

Table 1. Little Support for the CDA

<u>Party</u>	<u>Current Second Chamber seat distribution</u>	<u>General Inter/View survey November 1985</u>	<u>Inter/View survey among youth</u>
CDA	45	44	30
VVD	36	27	38
PVDA	47	60	67
D' 66	6	5	3
Small left	9	7	10
Small right	7	7	2

Political Interest

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 2 Jan 86 p 3

[Article by Maarten Huygen: "'Move to the Right by Youth Has Halted'"]

[Text] Rijswijk, 2 Jan--Young people are less interested in politics than is the population as a whole, but the shift to the Right among youth has definitely come to a halt. These are the conclusions of Dr J. W. Becker and Drs C. van Praag, staff members of the Socio-Cultural Planning Bureau in Rijswijk, based on recent studies, including the survey commissioned by the National Study Group for the Year of Youth and published this week by Inter/View. According to this survey, young people from 15 through 24 years of age would give the leftist parties in the Second Chamber a majority of 80 seats.

The two scientists introduce a certain amount of order in the continually emerging studies on youth, which sometimes contradict one another. In their opinion, a survey among young people is meaningful only if it is compared to opinion polls among other population groups or with opinion polls in the past. In an SCP report that came out last year, "Youth in the 1980s," many studies were presented side by side. Van Praag: "Developments among youth are always a caricature of trends in the population as a whole."

Extreme Rightist

In 1983, Nijmegen sociologists L. Hagendoorn and J. Janssen announced unusually strong interest in extreme rightist groups among secondary school students. The recent survey by Inter/View among youth indicates that this trend towards the small rightist parties has turned around. "It was sympathy of a temporary nature," according to Becker. The VVD is now recording clear gains, but according to the Inter/View figures the small rightist parties get only two seats from young people, as compared to seven seats from the Dutch population as a whole. The shift to the left is confirmed by previous studies by Inter/View.

Becker and Van Praag consider the flight of young people from the CDA to be of a lasting nature. "We have been seeing that for some time. It has to do with the continuing separation of youth from the church," says Van Praag. According to the SCP report, 34.2 percent of young people in 1967 had no religion, while that figure was 66.2 percent in 1983. In the 25 to 34 age group, 58.1 percent said that they had no religion in 1983, while this figure was 44.6 in the 35 and older group.

Becker does not see the large turnout of young people at demonstrations by the Evangelical Broadcasting Organization [EO] as something new. The EO is the modern medium of a group that has long been in existence. Becker: "It indicates continuity. The Reformed Church has always had a stronger grip on its youth than have other religious groups. They are able to resist the effects of urbanization and have a strong hold among youth."

Interest

In a recent SCP study, young people scored significantly lower in political interest than did adults. Of the youth, 22 percent had no political interest while 11.1 percent of the adults demonstrated no interest.

There is no pronounced lassitude among young people, but at the same time there is no great activism. "It is not the case that young people are flocking together en masse in order to change society," Becker says. The Inter/View report indicates that only 11 percent of young people are involved in an interest organization. According to a recent study by the SCP, approximately half as many young people as adults are active in participatory activities. The interest of young people in groups oriented towards world issues is as great as that of their parent.

Campaigns

The Inter/View study reveals that over one-fifth of young people have participated in a demonstration and will continue to do so if the opportunity presents itself. Twenty percent are not at all oriented towards popular campaigns. Thirty percent of the youth feel that the government and parliament are "doing enough." Young people have mostly demonstrated for peace and security. The same is true for adults.

Becker does not consider the strong interest of young people in issues such as the environment or racial discrimination, as indicated by Inter/View, to be truly convincing. He wonders what it means for young people to fill out a list of political issues such as this. Preferences could have to do with things that, for example, were just on television. "Trends in opinions are very precarious. If you were to put 'going to a disco' or other things on the list, priorities would be quite different," Becker says. "Although the struggle against discrimination and pollution is of great concern to young

people, not as many appear to have demonstrated for these issues," the Inter/View report states. Consequently, the Study Group for the Year of Youth feels that young people are expressing themselves in a different way than was previously the case.

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CSO: 3614/49

CITIZENS' VIEWS ON CHURCH INFLUENCE SURVEYED

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 18 Jan 86 pp 14R-16R

[Text] The Catholic Church engages in activity which the citizens of Portugal over 18 years of age regard as positive. They view it as the institution with the greatest influence on Portuguese society (although it does not determine the citizens' electoral choices), and not only would a majority (57.2 percent) like the church to have its own television channel, but also, 67.1 percent would view an increase in the number of church schools favorably. These are the results revealed by an EXPRESSO-Euroexpansao poll, which indicates that the main characteristic attributed to the Catholic Church is conservatism (38.8 percent).

According to the poll, the overwhelming majority of the people regard political pluralism among Catholics as natural, although 72 percent of those questioned said that Freitas do Amaral is the candidate who rallies the most ecclesiastical support. Recognizing some degree of conflict between the church and the party leaders, less than a half of the citizens describe the attitude of the party leaders toward the church as proper. Although a substantial majority of those questioned do not want the church to intervene in politics, a little more than 60 percent nonetheless say that it should not limit itself exclusively to the administration of the sacraments.

A Conservative Church

The actions of the church (Graph I) is most acceptable to the citizens in the North, in the interior and in the rural regions, to those in the lowest economic bracket, to those over 40, to women, and, naturally, to practicing Catholics. Where the voters for the various parties are concerned, 65.5 percent of those who voted for the PSD [Social Democratic Party] on 6 October regard the actions of the church as "good or very good," an opinion shared by 60.9 percent of the CDS [Social Democratic Center Party] voters, 39.8 percent of the socialists and 25.1 percent of those who voted for the PRD [Democratic Renewal Party]. The image of the church is the worst in the eyes of the APU [United People's Alliance] voters: although [illegible] regard the actions of the church as "good" or "very good," 26.1 percent see it as "bad" or "very bad." No other group of voters went as far in its negative assessment in the role of the church, the highest being the 4.5 percent in the case of the PS [Socialist Party].

But although the image of the church with the non-Catholic citizens is "bad" (48 percent said "bad," 21.7 percent "very bad" and 27.8 percent "neither good nor bad"), as well as those who abstained during the last legislative elections (24.4 percent said "bad," [illegible] "very bad," 13 percent "good" and 14.9 percent "very good").

In describing the church, 38.8 percent of those interviewed chose the term "conservative," 21.5 percent preferred the term "welcoming," 12.3 percent chose "open to dialogue," while 10.7 percent believe that its main characteristic is that it is "charitable." Of the 25 groups in which those questioned during the EXPRESSO-Euroexpansao poll can be divided, "conservative" was not the leading characteristic attributed to the Portuguese church in the case of only four. These were the citizens of Greater Lisbon, practicing Catholics, the PSD voters and those who cast blank or no votes on 6 October (all of them gave "welcoming" as the primary characteristic).

Most Influential Institution

The level of influence the various groups ascribe to the church is very consistent (Graph II). Apart from the fact that no one abstained from answering this question, the largest number of those questioned regarding the influence of the church as "great" was in the North (71.3 percent), while the fewest individuals regarding it as "small" were found among the PRD voters (0.8 percent). Conversely, nonpracticing Catholics (9.2 percent) and those living in urban areas (8.2 percent), APU voters (11.7 percent) and CDS voters (11.6 percent) are the groups of citizens most often terming this influence "small."

While 22.2 percent of the citizens of Portugal over 18 years of age could not compare the influence of the church on Portuguese society with that of the Freemasons (Graph III), an analysis of the answers by age, economics, geographic and party groups shows no great deviations from the national average. It should be noted however that 26.8 percent of the APU voters termed these influences equal, 85.1 percent of the CDS voters said the church has greater influence, and 8.1 percent of the PRD voters thought the Freemasons have greater influence. Apart from these variations from the average opinion, it was also revealed that 6.3 percent of the voters in Greater Lisbon regard the Freemasons as having greater influence, a view shared by 6.1 percent of the nonpracticing Catholics (1.2 percent of the practicing Catholics), of whom only 64.5 percent thought the church has the greater influence (71.3 percent among practicing Catholics).

It appears easier to compare the influence of the church with that of the military establishment. Only 4.5 percent of those questioned did not know or did not answer this question. Great consistency was also noted in this connection, with a single exception--the non-Catholics. Of this group, 39.5 percent think that the influence of the church is greater than that of the military establishment, 15.4 percent regard it as equal, and 45.7 percent said it is less.

Although the average for all the answers points to greater influence by the church than the political parties, 11 of the 25 groups into which it is

possible to divide those surveyed said the contrary. Thus the influence of the political parties is regarded as greater than that of the Catholic Church by the citizens in Greater Oporto, in the South, in the urban sectors, in the upper population strata, in the group under 40, among men, among the nonpracticing Catholics, those who have no religion or profess beliefs other than Catholic, and among the PS, PRD and the APU voters.

Among the APU voters, 48.7 percent regard the influence of the parties as greater, 25.2 percent think the two influences are equal and 26.1 say that the influence of the parties is less important. The PRD voters were divided into 44.9 percent, 23.1 percent and 32.1 percent, respectively, and the PS voters 39.9 percent, 21.5 percent and 37.8 percent, respectively.

On any one of these three comparisons (summarized in Graph III), the people in the North, the interior and rural areas in all cases assigned greater influence to the church than the average Portuguese citizen, with the single exception of the interior of the country, where only 41.1 percent said the church has more influence than the political parties. In the South, on the coast and in the urban sectors, in turn, the church was assigned a systematically lower level of influence than the average, and the only exception again pertained to the comparison between the church and the political parties, in that 42.5 percent of those questioned on the coast assigned greater influence to the church.

Electoral Influence

Curiously, practicing Catholics and the APU voters seemed to be the groups surveyed which attributed greatest importance to the position of the church in connection with the results of the last legislative elections (Graph IV). While only one out of every individual said that this position had "great" or "some" influence on the 6 October elections, a third of the practicing Catholics share this view, and the same is true of those who voted for the APU. In all the other groups, the number of those questioned who said there was "no" church influence on the electoral results was in all cases more than half.

The existence of pluralism in the political opinions of Catholics (Graph V) is less acceptable to practicing Catholics than nonpracticing Catholics or non-Catholics. In fact, 13.8 percent of the practicing Catholics termed this situation "bad" and only 32.5 percent saw it as "good." The only less favorable view of this phenomenon was among the CDS voters, wherein although 53 percent regard the phenomenon as natural, about a quarter of the total number express some nostalgia for the monolithic Catholic vote.

The classification of the attitude of party leaders toward the church by the people is surprising. It is not possible to derive any clear trend on the part of those questioned about how political leaders deal with the church from the analysis of the EXPRESSO-Euroexpansao poll (Graph VI). The majority of the citizens of Portugal believe that politicians treat the church "too well" or "too badly," although they do not agree on assessing the attitude of the party leaders as "proper." Even more significant is the fact that the practicing Catholics constitute one of the few groups in which a majority

believe this attitude is "proper" (52.9 percent), along with the PS (59.1 percent), PSD (54.3 percent), and APU (53.4 percent) voters, those living in rural areas (50 percent) and those over 40 years of age (52 percent).

Although they allowed themselves to be influenced by their voting choices for the election on the 26th, those surveyed by EXPRESSO-Euroexpansao generally recognized that Freitas do Amaral is the candidate enjoying the greatest church support (Graph VII). This opinion was mainly found among those over 40, the non-Catholics, male voters and the supporters of the parties which have declared their support of Freitas do Amaral.

However, the greatest support for Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo came from the younger voters (17.1 percent), women (15.6 percent), practicing Catholics (16.6 percent), those in the North (15.7 percent) and those who abstained on 6 October (17.8 percent). These are the population sectors in which the former prime minister is regarded as rallying church support in a percentage significantly above the average (12.2 percent). Mario Soares, for his part, was seen as the candidate preferred by the church by women (8.6 percent), as well as the PS voters (9.4 percent). Also, the female voters are among those who see the least church support for Freitas do Amaral--"only" 60.4 percent, as compared to an overall average of 72.12 percent. The largest concentration of individuals who regard Salgado Zenha as the candidate enjoying the greatest church support was found in Greater Oporto (6.6 percent).

Church TV Channel

Only among the citizens between 18 and 40 years of age, the non-Catholics and the supporters of the APU is there a large number of individuals who believe that the church should not have its own television channel (Graph VIII). In all of the other groups into which the people surveyed in the EXPRESSO-Euroexpansao poll can be divided, an absolute majority expressed approval of granting the church a channel.

In this connection, the practicing Catholics are the main defenders of this undertaking (66.9 percent), since this group was only surpassed by the individuals over 40 (74 percent "yes") and the PSD (68.9 percent) and CDS (78.3 percent) voters. Despite the differences of opinion found among those questioned, depending on their relationship with the Catholic Church, the truth is that the allocation of a television channel to the church has become a political issue, and the greatest variations in opinion can be seen as dependent on the party for whom those questioned voted last 6 October. In this connection, apart from the strong support from the PSD and the CDS voters, and the opposition from the APU voters, already mentioned, those whose preference was the PDR proved to be divided into 48.8 percent "for" and 43.2 percent "against," while the socialists were more clearly in favor of the allocation of the television channel (52.6 percent) than against it (42.7 percent).

More Catholic Schools

There was much greater consensus on the issue of Catholic schools (Graph IX), on which only the non-Catholics (39.5 percent in favor and 59 percent against)

and the residents of Greater Oporto (42.6 percent in favor and 45.9 percent against) failed to indicate approval of an increase in the number of its own teaching institutions by the church. Generally speaking, only one out of every four Portuguese citizens challenges this expansion of the church presence, and even among the APU voters, 55.8 percent of those questioned favor it as compared to 43.7 percent, who would prefer that the number of Catholic schools not increase.

Out of every five Portuguese citizens, four agree in stating that the church should not intervene in politics. This proportion is practically constant through all the groups, with the exception of citizens in the upper economic stratum (25.6 percent say that the church should intervene in politics), the centrist voters (31.4 percent), to a lesser extent the practicing Catholics (21.2 percent) and, on the opposite side, the PS voters (of whom only 10.4 percent believe that such intervention should occur).

Despite this view, two out of every three Portuguese citizens believe, on the other hand, that the church should not limit its actions to the administration of the sacraments. This view of the church role is stronger on the coast than in the interior, and it is again among the APU voters that the largest numbers of those who would like to see the church limit itself solely to the administration of the sacraments is found (that is the view of 47.8 percent, as compared to 49.1 percent who believe the church should not limit itself to this field). Finally, those who cast blank or null votes on 6 October constitute the only group which would like to see the church limited to the sacristy--52.7 percent share this view, and only 47.3 percent oppose it.

Methodological Explanation

The survey covered citizens over 18 years of age living on the territory of the continent in communities of more than five homes.

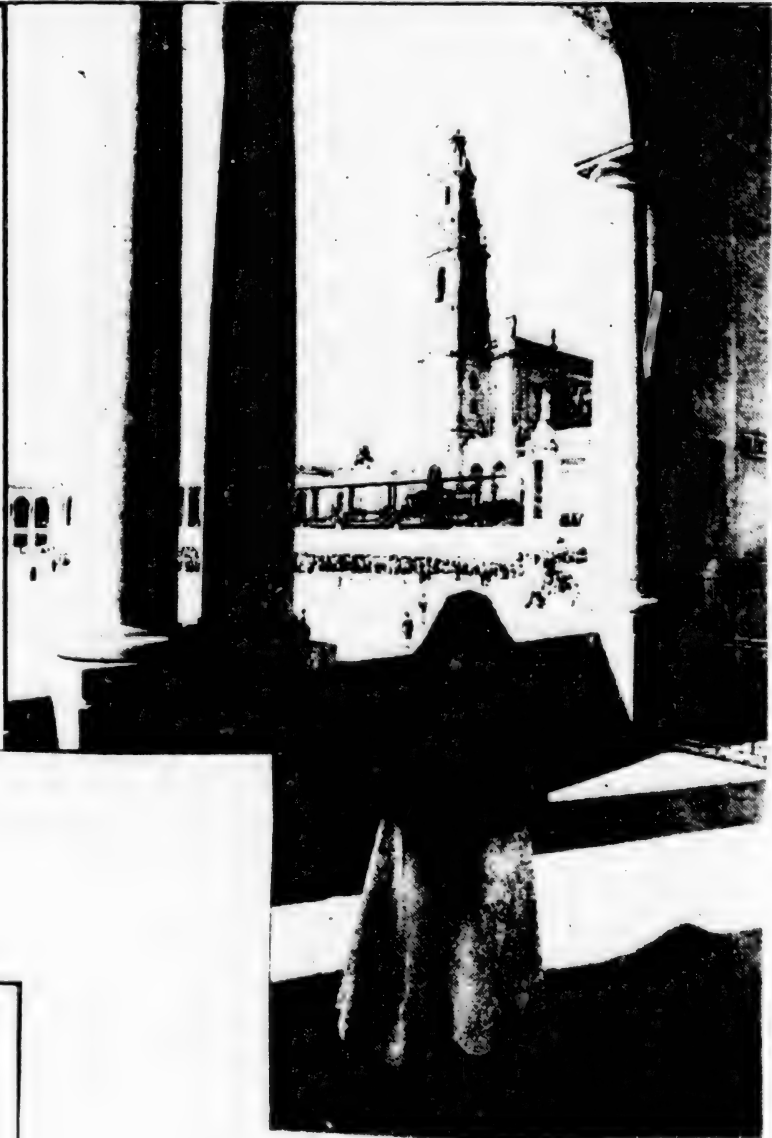
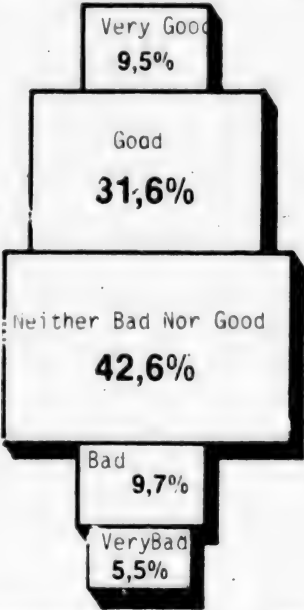
The sampling included 606 persons who were interviewed. The selection was made on the basis of the quota technique, taking into simultaneous account region, housing, sex, age and educational level.

The data was collected through direct interviews conducted between 3 and 12 December 1985 by 21 supervised interviewers.

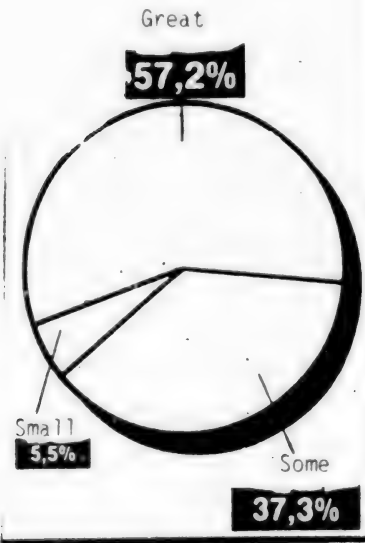
The semi-interval for maximal reliability, given a random sampling of 606 persons interviewed, is 4.0 percent (95 percent probability).

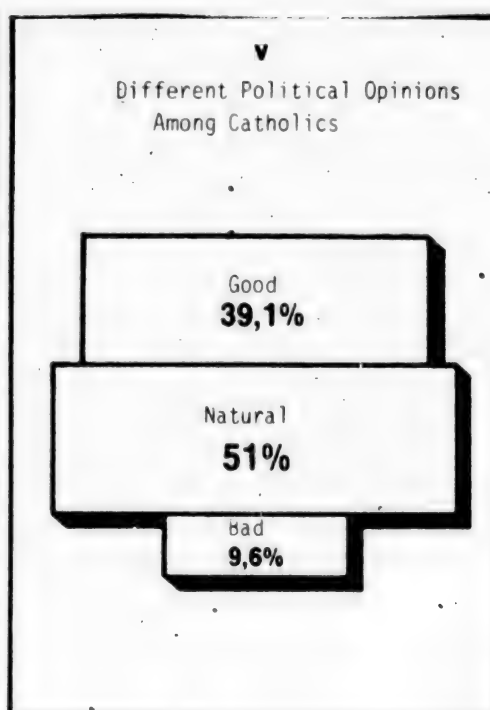
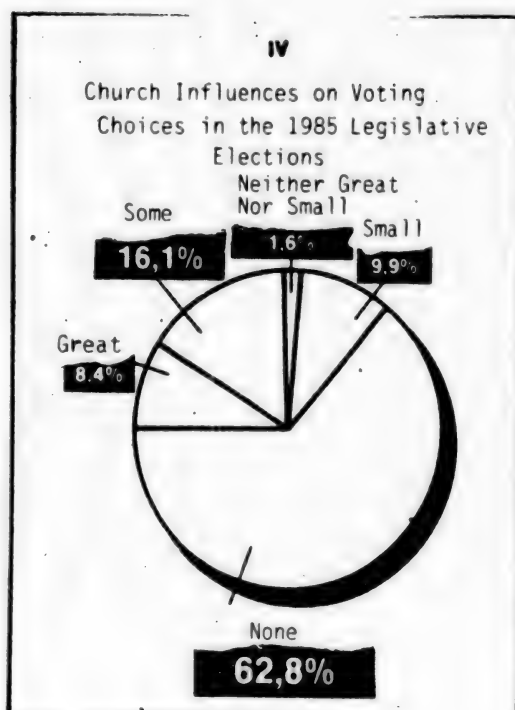
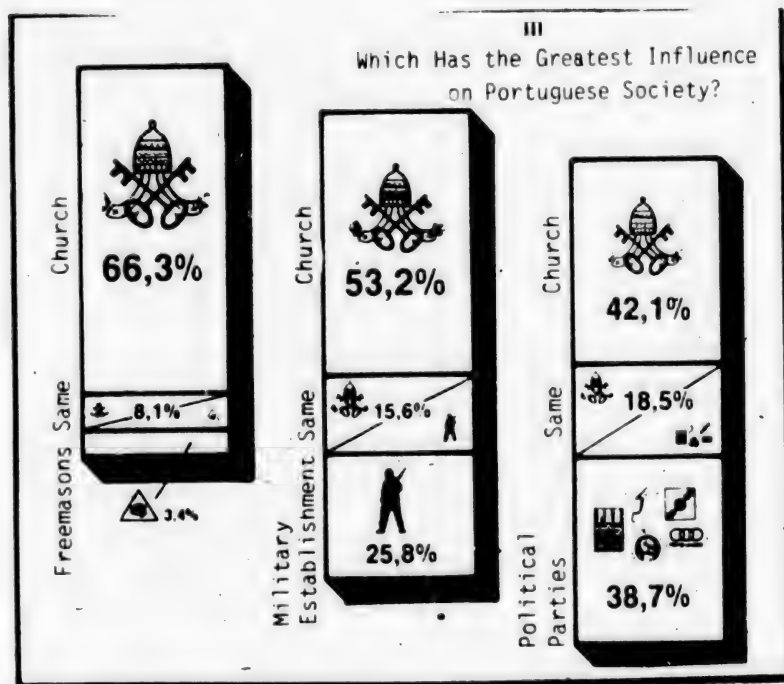
Euroexpansao was responsible for the poll, and EXPRESSO was responsible for analyzing the results.

I
The Actions of the Church as
Seen by Portuguese Citizens



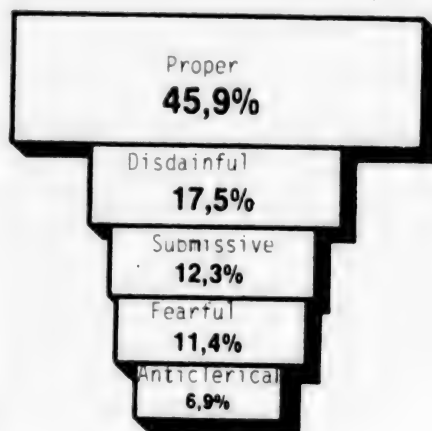
II
Level of Church Influence
on Portuguese Society





VI

Attitude of the Party
Leaders Toward the Church



VII

Candidate Rallying Greatest Church Support

Freitas



72,1%

Pintasilgo



12,2%

Soares



4,8%

None
of
These

3,5%

Zenha



1,5%

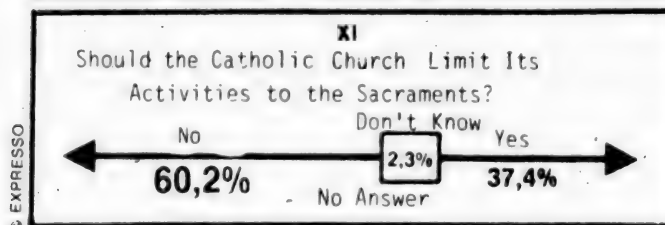
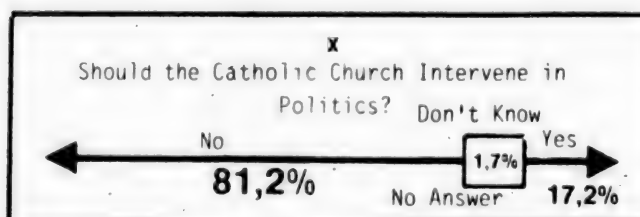
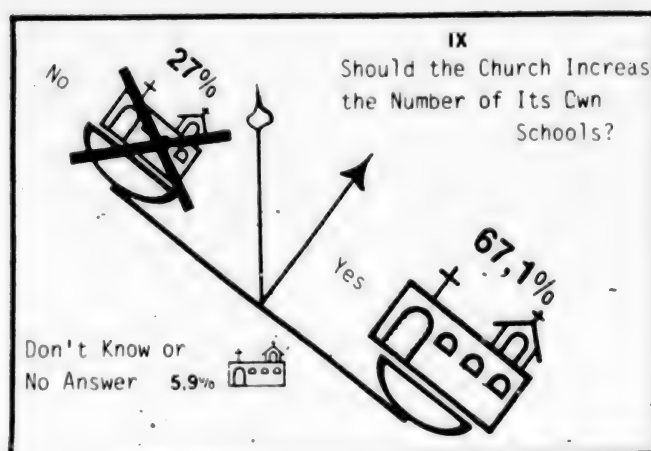
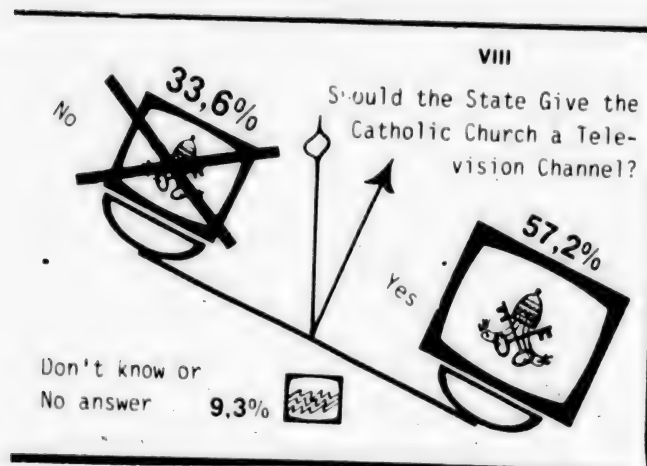
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Know or
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WESTERBERG, LIBERAL PARTY CONTINUE POLL GAINS

Chairman's Popularity Approaching Record

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 3 Jan 86 p 6

[Article by Elisabeth Crona]

[Text] Following the election, Liberal Party leader Bengt Westerberg is the country's most confidence-inspiring politician.

Nearly half of the approximately 1,600 individuals polled feel that Westerberg inspires "great confidence," according to INDIKATOR, a news letter published by SIFO [Swedish Institute for Public Opinion Polls].

The poll was conducted between 6 November and 10 December, in the midst of the Center Party's big crisis. Those polled were between the ages of 16 and 74.

With the confidence of 47 percent of all voters and 78 percent of admiring Liberals, Bengt Westerberg is now at a level far above the past decade's figures for party leaders and signs of growing contempt for politicians.

Erlander Was Popular

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, Tage Erlander stood far above the 50-percent mark in voter confidence. Gunnar Hedlund came close to the same figure. A few years after the the Social Democratic and Center Parties had changed leaders, Palme and Falldin still scored high. Then the figures suddenly collapsed.

Since 1973, no party leader until Westerberg had managed to inspire the confidence of over 40 percent of the voters. Bengt Westerberg himself started with 9 percent in the fall of 1983, before he took over as party leader. Since then, the figure has moved straight up.

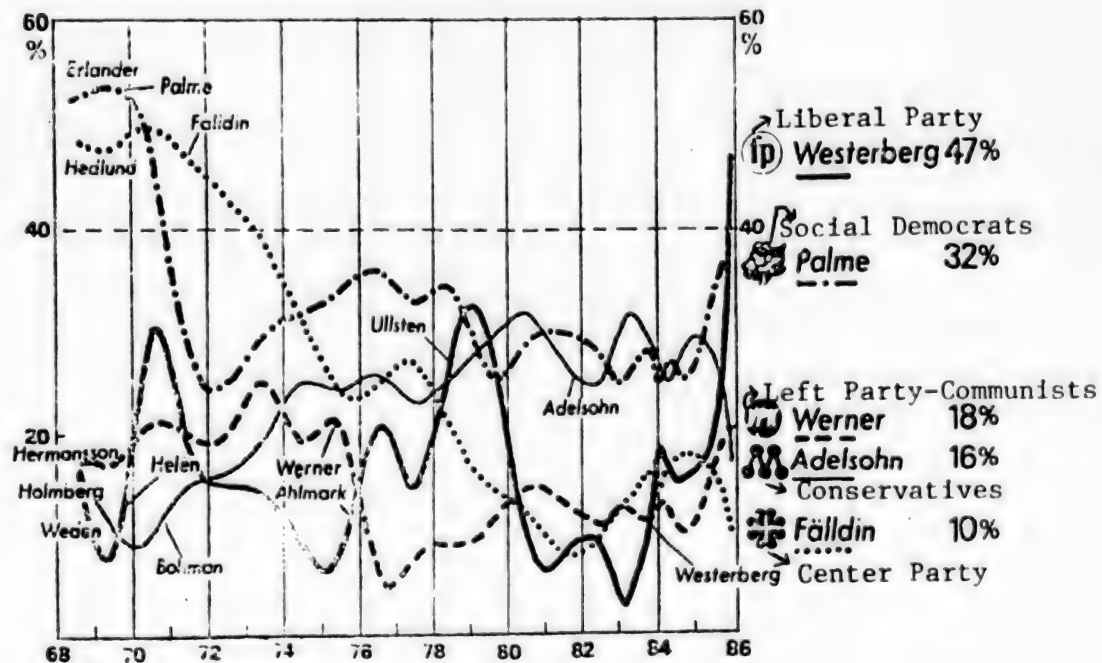
Adelsohn: 16 Percent

Compared to Westerberg's 47 percent among all voters, "great confidence" is felt in Olof Palme by 32 percent, in Lars Werner by 18 percent, in Ulf Adelsohn by 16 percent, and in Thorbjorn Falldin by 10 percent.

The Conservative Party leader had about 30 percent a year ago. Confidence in Falldin has also declined over the past year. Olof Palme's curve has moved downward since the election.

Within the parties themselves, 58 percent of the Social Democrats polled feel great confidence in their party leader, while 57 percent of the Conservatives place similar confidence in Ulf Adelsohn. Lars Werner scores 54 percent. SIFO contacted only 81 Center Party members before Thorbjorn Falldin's resignation. Of those, 38 percent felt that the Center Party leader inspired great confidence.

Confidence in Party Leaders



Confidence in Bengt Westerberg is now at the same level as that enjoyed by Tage Erlander and Gunnar Hedlund in the early 1970's. Since September 1973, Westerberg's "reserve of confidence" has risen from 9 percent to 47 percent. The poll was conducted in late November and early December.

Paper Comments on Poll

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 4 Jan 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Party Leader SIFO"]

[Text] The election results were a setback for the Conservatives. The Conservative Party leadership was not really taken in by last spring's very high public opinion figures. The party was not expected to win 30 percent of

the vote. But on the other hand, the opinion figures had created expectations that its position would be markedly strengthened as a result of the election.

Since the election, the Conservatives have had difficulty handling their disappointment. This has been manifested in several ways. Above all, it has taken time for the Conservatives to make a comeback: the party has led a rather anonymous existence.

That phenomenon is not limited to the Conservatives. The nonsocialists in general have had trouble regaining political initiative since the election.

In the Center Party's case, it was unquestionably disastrous. Internal conflicts led to an open power struggle that resulted in Falldin's crushing of internal opposition. But the price was Falldin's own resignation.

The Liberal Party, on the other hand, has not suffered at all from the political anonymity that has characterized the nonsocialists as a whole, and that is a result of Bengt Westerberg's personal standing with the voters.

So in one party the party leader has resigned. In another, the party leader's position among the voters as a whole is stronger than that enjoyed by any nonsocialist party leader over the past 15 years.

In the third party--the Conservative Party--the party leader is responsible to a high degree for his own party's political anonymity. But his position within the party is not really being challenged as a result.

But as is shown in the opinion poll that was published yesterday by SVENSKA DAGBLADET, the Conservative Party leader's standing with the voters has been weakened. This seems to be a message from the voters concerning Adelson personally. And in one respect, it probably is just that. The election campaign marked Westerberg's full emergence as a political leader. To a not inconsiderable extent, he emerged by way of comparison with the other nonsocialist party leaders and at the expense of their positions.

But even though practically all attention is centered on the party leaders, their effect on Swedish politics is normally slight, with the result that figures showing confidence in the various party leaders, and above all the changes in those figures, generally say more about the confidence felt in the parties themselves than in their leaders.

Bengt Westerberg is the exception to that rule.

When a party's voters weaken, it also means a weakening of the party leader's position.

What this means is that despite everything, Swedish politics is concerned more with policy than with individuals.

This may seem like a word of comfort for Ulf Adelson--and Thorbjorn Falldin, now resigned--as the SIFO figures concerning their own positions hit bottom.

But at the same time, it is true that a party leader is not a party leader just for his own amusement. His responsibility is to lead his party to political successes. His responsibility is to strengthen confidence in his own party's policy.

The result, naturally, is that the newly published SIFO poll contains a rather curt message for Ulf Adelsohn. The message is not that he is on the way to being rejected as a person by the voters. On the other hand, the poll confirms that his party's position has grown considerably weaker.

And as political leader, Ulf Adelsohn is the one primarily responsible for re-creating strength for his party. The job facing Adelsohn will be a difficult one, to say the least, as he tries to shift the curve of public opinion in favor of his own party. But most indications are that there is very strong agreement within his own party that it is he and no one else who can do the job.

All Parties Losing to Liberals

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 4 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Willy Silberstein]

[Text] The Liberal Party is the biggest nonsocialist party in the LO [Swedish Federation of Trade Unions], the TCO [Central Organization of Salaried Employees], and SACO [Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations], according to the SVENSKA DAGBLADET-SIFO poll for the last quarter of 1985.

The poll was conducted between 9 October and 17 December and included 3,157 individuals. All were visited in their homes, and that is where they answered SIFO's questions. So the survey did not include any telephone interviews.

The Liberal Party's victorious rampage made itself felt in practically every area surveyed.

The survey reveals that the Liberal Party has taken 8 percentage points from the other parties since last fall's election and lost 0.8 percentage points. All the other parties show net losses as follows: Conservatives: 3.5 percentage points; Center Party: 1.6 percentage points; Social Democrats [SDP]: 1.9 percentage points; and the VPK [Left Party-Communists]: 0.1 percentage point.

Not unexpectedly, the Conservatives have lost the most voters to the Liberal Party even since the election (3.8 percent), while picking up 0.4 percent from that party.

SDP Loss

Bengt Westerberg is also a tempting name to Social Democrats. The SDP's net loss to the Liberal Party totals 1.6 percent (losing 1.9 percent to the Liberals and picking up 0.3 percent from them).

Center Party members were also attracted by the Liberal Party. The Center Party has lost 1.7 percent without managing to entice any Liberal Party members into its own fold. The KDS [Christian Democratic League], which appeared on parliamentary election lists as the "Center," has lost 0.5 percent to the Liberal Party since the election.

SDP-VPK

It can also be gathered from all the figures compiled by SIFO that the flow of voters between the VPK and the Social Democrats is about the same in both directions: 0.6 percent wandered over to the SDP, and 0.5 percent moved in the opposite direction.

Support for the parties is about equal in all age groups, with a couple of exceptions. The Center Party has a markedly elderly group of voters--only 5.9 percent of the population under 40 supports the party, compared to 9.2 percent of those over 40. The SDP also has stronger support among older voters.

The Conservatives were once the leading nonsocialist party within the LO, but no longer. According to SIFO, the Liberal Party is supported by 16.4 percent of the LO's members. The Conservatives have 9.9 percent, and the Center Party, including the KDS, has 4.9 percent. This means that the nonsocialist parties combined have 31.2 percent of the LO's members.

The Social Democrats have 61.3 percent, and the VPK has 6.5 percent.

Biggest in TCO

The Liberal Party also heads the nonsocialist bloc in the TCO, every third member of which, according to SIFO, is a member of the Liberal Party. The Conservatives have 15.5 percent, the Center Party 4.2 percent, the SDP 40.1 percent, and the VPK 5.2 percent.

The Liberals are clearly the largest party in the SACO at 39.7 percent. The Conservatives have 25.2 percent, the Center Party 3.0 percent, the SDP 22.2 percent, and the VPK 7.8 percent.

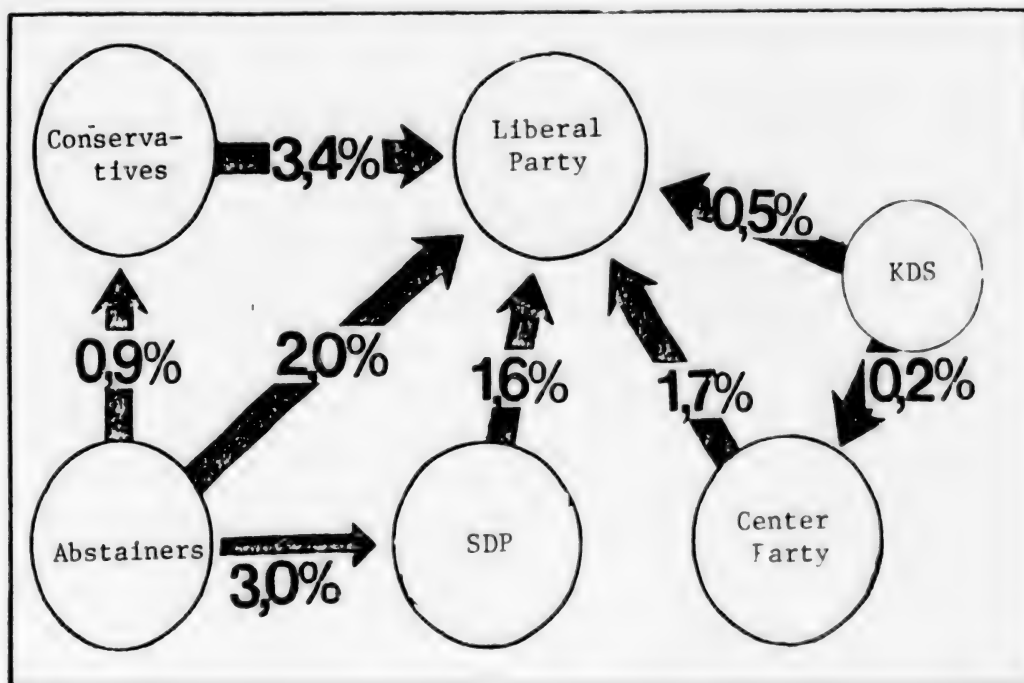
Among salaried employees as a group, the Liberal Party is the largest party. It is followed closely by the Social Democrats and then by the Conservatives. It can be noted that last fall's big poll by the SCB [Central Bureau of Statistics] also showed a big increase for the Liberal Party in the salaried group. On the other hand, the SCB also showed that the Conservatives were still the largest nonsocialist party among salaried employees.

SIFO also looked at differences between employees in the private and public sectors. The Conservatives have considerably greater support among those in the private sector, the Liberal Party has more or less equal support in both sectors, and the SDP and VPK have the edge in the public sector.

Nonsocialist voters in the big cities were once safe ground for the Conservatives, but no longer. For example, the Liberal Party has most of the

nonsocialist workers in urban occupations and is larger than the SDP among those who live in detached homes and row houses in the urban areas.

According to SIFO's quarterly study, support for the parties is as follows (based on answers to the question "Which party do you consider best today?"): Conservatives: 16.8 percent; Liberal Party: 25.9 percent; Center Party: 7.8 percent (including 1.6 percent for the KDS); SDP: 43.4 percent; and VPK: 4.5 percent.



The above summary shows voter flows since the September election according to SVENSKA DAGBLADET-SIFO. The figures show the net flow as a percentage of all voters. The Liberal Party has made measurable net gains from all parties except the VPK. Of those who did not vote in the 1985 election, many say they have now settled on a "best party," generally the SDP, the Liberal Party, or the Conservatives. The KDS lost voters to both the Center Party and the Liberal Party. The flow between the VPK and the SDP was the same in both directions.

11798

CSO: 3650/122

RELATIONS WITH LIBYA, ACTIVITIES OF PEOPLE'S BUREAU

Zurich DIE WELTWOCHEN in German 9 Jan 86 p 31

[Article by Ulrich Kaegi: "The Peculiar Business of 13 Young Diplomats-- Recently, the Most Diverse Affairs Have Occurred Around the Libyan People's Bureau in Bern"]

[Text] This time, Rome and Vienna were the targets of the not yet clearly identified Arab terrorists who, on 27 December of last year, arranged a terrible massacre in front of the counters of the Israeli El-Al Airline Co. Some 19 persons were killed and 115 were injured.

According to statements from the Federal Prosecutor's Office several days later, one of the assassins had flown from Beirut to Geneva and had traveled on from there by rail to Vienna; however, the office later retracted this statement. Italian suspicions that the terrorist undertakings had been actively supported from Switzerland because the assassins had received their final instructions here have thus far not been confirmed. On the other hand, the offer of the PLO, which has a representative office in Geneva, to keep the federal authorities supplied with information is noteworthy.

Now that the security measures at the Zurich-Kloten and Geneva-Cointrin Airports have been increased, Switzerland can at least temporarily breathe more freely. The circumstance that at least one of the assassins was able to board a train in Geneva traveling in the direction of Zurich-Buchs-Vienna unhindered can, in any event, hardly be grounds for accusation. If this man was alleged to be in possession of a forged Tunisian passport, then the border police hardly had an opportunity to subject him to a thorough investigation.

While tourist traffic between Tunisia and Switzerland is accomplished without a visa obligation, this is a subject which is handled much more strictly in mutual contact involving Libya. This means that no Swiss national can travel to Libya without the specific agreement of that country and no Libyan can travel to Switzerland without the specific agreement of Switzerland. This control, thus, renders any shady undertakings much more difficult. However, since Libya has expelled thousands of Tunisian workers from the country but kept their passports, Libyan authorities have an adequate supply of Tunisian passports in order to equip individuals with them whose identities are to be concealed.

Since, on 12 May 1980, the Libyan Embassy in Bern was taken over by the Ambassador of the First "Brother" Muammar Quaddafi and transformed into a people's bureau, relations with the Federal Department for External Affairs have once more been normalized. Nevertheless, "it is a unique experience to visit the people's bureau," admits senior national counselor Dr Richard Mueller (Socialist Party, Bern), who, in 1984, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Libyan revolution, participated in an international conference in Tripoli and reported on it in WELTWOCH ("The People's Congress Yelled Enthusiastically," No 38, 1984): "Colonel Muammar Quaddafi is seeking international recognition. He no longer wishes to be considered the top terrorist in the world."

Mueller is vice president of the Swiss-Arab Society whose founder and chairman is Bern attorney Dr Hans Ellenberger. Beyond that, Mueller acts as the Swiss coordinator of the European-Arab Parliamentary Union which recently met in Rabat: "We support movements," Mueller said, "which promote a peaceful solution of the Near East conflict. Libya is quite isolated in the Arab world."

Ellenberger cannot believe that the assassins of Rome and Vienna received any kind of support from Switzerland: "In view of the many trips it means nothing at all. The people must pass through somewhere." Although Libya is seen as "a state with a very self-willed leadership," he considers it extremely difficult to determine who actually is behind the assaults. Consequently, Ellenberger asked himself who benefits from these actions, what is accomplished by these actions, and he draws the conclusion that: "It is certain that they diminish the political peace process which works to the advantage of Israel. Israel fears nothing more than concrete peace negotiations." But even the splintered Palestinian camp includes groups which reject every thought of peace as "treason."

At one time, Ellenberger was drawn into aiding refugees, originally primarily Jews from eastern Europe, under the influence of the legendary refugee mother Gertrud Kurz. However, after 1956, when Algerian workers fled to Switzerland from France, he began to discover the Arab world and intends to use his company to spread knowledge about this world region throughout Switzerland. Since that time, he has been a mote in the eye of pro-Israeli circles.

The transformation of the Libyan Embassy into a people's bureau is explained by Ellenberger on the basis of the goals set by the Libyan revolution, namely to break up fossilized hierarchies and to move the population to participate more strongly in the affairs of state. Since 95 percent of the population were illiterate before Quaddafi's coup, this country does not have the educational strata from which experienced diplomats could be recruited overnight.

When WELTWOCH visited the people's bureau in May 1980, it had the impression that it had landed in the headquarters of a youth group ("Visit in the People's Bureau," No 21, 1980). Neither the names nor the career paths of the six persons interviewed could be learned: "They spoke with a member of the people's bureau," stated a spokesman for the group in answer to the appropriate question. "I am not the chief. Perhaps I will return to Libya tomorrow or I will travel elsewhere."

According to the diplomatic register, the Libyan People's Bureau did not have a chief last year either. Nevertheless, the remaining representatives of the "Arab-Libyan People's Socialist Jamahiriya"--as the official designation of the state which does not want to be a state is known--had to agree to enter their names in the official list. Thus, one can at least count: 13 of them. Added to this are auxiliary and housekeeping personnel. It is satisfied with nine persons, including its chief.

Mohammed Abdel Malek, the charge d'affaires ad interim of the people's bureau, took care of special types of turbulences in Swiss-Libyan relations during 1980/1981. In a Bern classified advertising paper he offered for sale "folding cots, double and single mattresses, a chest of drawers, end tables, a buffet, a group of pillows, an oak multisectional wardrobe, a piano, and various other items." Malek was liquidating his possessions at Hinterkappelen after the Federal Council had politely but firmly requested that he leave Switzerland as soon as possible.

Demand for Things, Alcohol, and Women

He was accused of having received political information for transmittal to Tripoli from the former bar lady in the hotel "Bellevue," the originally American Alexandria Lincoln, who is a housewife today in the Canton of Aargau, and of having paid 14,000 francs for this material.

The 30-year-old Alexandria herself was temporarily arrested on 18 May 1982 under suspicion of engaging in political intelligence work and, on 21 March 1983, was sentenced to 2.5 months in jail, the sentence being suspended with 2 years' probation.

Alexandrea allegedly received the information passed on to the Libyans from senior federal parliamentarians and high chief officers. "Always late at night," wrote the BASLER ZEITUNG in reporting the prickly process, the gentle being allegedly drew the politicians "into her dangerous spell." "Who all from the Helvetian nomenclature fell victim to the girl-woman smiles of Alexandria?" asked BLICK with a sanctimonious rolling of the eyes, although it knew very well who.

In order to pull the rug from under additional unseemly speculation, the Federal Justice and Police Department stated in a declaration which did not permit any contradiction that: "The investigations have resulted in no indication for a criminal prosecution of parliamentarians and federal officials." Which means: The singer's politeness remains silent with respect to nightly practices and vices.

In any event, the Federation does not seem to have suffered a great deal of damage as a result of the Alexandria affair, since BLICK qualified the Libyan diplomat Malek as "incapable of understanding a state secret which was relayed to him in the English language." He seems to have understood other things better, since they did not require a knowledge of foreign languages. It is alleged that the Arab diplomatic corps was laughing itself "half-dead" over this affair.

The youthful members of the Libyan People's Bureau, characterized by some diplomats as the "chaos shop," were credited with having some catching up to do with respect to alcohol and women in view of the deprivations imposed upon them in their own country by Islam. What the federal politicians had to catch up on would have to be left to the ministrations of a psychologist.

Alexandrea would certainly be the most likely expert to testify on the deep relationships between Libyan and Swiss men. Perhaps a quiet mutual sympathy was based on the fact that at least 3 years ago Switzerland was still getting one-fourth of its oil requirements from Libya and continues to participate in large-scale Libyan construction projects.

Despite such considerable Swiss interests in Libya, the Federal Council was not willing, in the fall of 1981, following the instigation of the then Geneva Socialist Party national counselor Jean Ziegler, to invite Col Quaddafi to make a visit to Switzerland. But as early as March 1982, Ziegler backtracked when he wrote to his party friend and minister of foreign affairs, Pierre Aubert: "It would be very sensible if Col Quaddafi could be received by Switzerland on the occasion of his next visit to Europe." In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the response was: "Not topical." And SPS President Helmut Hubacher told the Geneva sociology professor: "No topic."

In February 1983, the trial at the Zurich District Court against both alleged terrorists Claudia Bislin and Juerg Wehren, both of whom were sentenced to 7 years in jail, barely raised any substantial attention. The district attorney accused both individuals, who stubbornly maintained their silence, of having received arms and ammunition from the Libyan People's Bureau. Meanwhile, this did not lead to a lasting deterioration of Swiss-Libyan relations.

Patients from the oil-rich desert state, which offers all its citizens free medical and dental care--if necessary, also abroad--are very welcome in Switzerland. Great Britain, France, the FRG, and, primarily, Switzerland, save many Libyan lives and are well paid for their services. Thus, the Libyan patients render a welcome contribution to the lowering of the horrendous hospital deficit.

For example, the Bern Inselspital Hospital accepted 401 patients from Libya in 1983 (of a total of 1,247 foreigners) who paid an average daily fee of 370 Swiss francs. Since these patients frequently travel in the company of their families, also at state expense, the Libyans have become a significant factor in Bern's tourist business. The North Africans accounted for a total of one-quarter of the overnight stays by foreigners in the federal capital in 1983.

Palestinian Desperadoes--Centrally Controlled?

The newspaper TAGES-ANZEIGER found out that, in Zurich's Children's Hospital, 129 of the 420 foreign children in 1983 were from Libya and commanded a private tariff for foreigners of 284 francs per day.

Naturally, from time to time there are delays in payments of the bills. In June 1984, the Bern Inselspital Hospital complained that Libyan debts of 2.8

million francs were outstanding, whereupon the people's bureau quickly put 1.6 million francs on the table. Yet, nevertheless, in view of the shortfall of 1.2 million francs, the hospital administration declared that it "did not wish to care for any more Libyan patients for the present."

Given their "endless patients," experts believe "the Libyans frequently commit the error of believing that their business partners evince the same kind of virtue." In the final analysis, the money does arrive. According to information obtained from the people's bureau, it pays between 750,000 and 1 million francs for its patients each month in Switzerland.

Georges Breny, the national counselor for the National Action for Canton Waadt from 1971 through 1975, can also be satisfied with the Libyans. His deep rejection of everything which is not Swiss finds expression in all his art designed to bleed the Libyan families during their stay in Bern. His trick is: He rents apartments and rooms which he subleases to foreign guests. The newspaper BUND found out in February 1983 that Breny paid 412 francs for a small room for which he was demanding 1,460 francs. He paid 606 francs for an apartment and was asking 2,200. Former national counselor Breny never complained about the fact that the people's bureau let him sit on his immoral demands.

Is Quaddafi behind the assaults in Rome and Vienna? "That is nonsense" can be heard, with the greatest of certainty, from people who believe they know the Islamic world. The power centers of the Islamic world are Teheran and Damascus. Anyway, the suspicion that all actions by Palestinian desperadoes are centrally controlled is a great error.

Naturally, Quaddafi likes to puff himself up and yet the hard-luck crow must be very careful since he is threatened from a totally different direction by a serious danger which he tends to overlook: "Since he has already essentially delivered his country into Soviet hands--the Army is in the hands of the Russians, the secret service is under the control of the GDR--he is threatened with the fate of Afghanistan." Should Quaddafi, this "romantic," be toppled in the next few months, one could ascribe this action to the Israelis or to the CIA and, thus, arouse the whole Islamic world against the "Satan" who lurks for them in New York--to the greatest joy of the Kremlin.

Switzerland, which is highly regarded and valued as the turntable for all possible types of business transactions and contacts by all sides, has for years no longer been the target of terrorist assassins: "It has a very good reputation in the Arab world," one can hear on this score in informed circles in a discrete manner. Even its nurturing deportment with respect to the Libyan People's Bureau is likely to have contributed to this reputation.

[Box]

Without Switzerland

Following the Vienna and Rome assassinations, speculations, suspicions, and accusations moved the Libya of Col Quaddafi into the focal point of

international tensions. What role does the Libyan Embassy in Bern, which has been transformed into a "people's bureau," play? In recent years, it has repeatedly seen to prickly affairs. Nevertheless, Switzerland, as the Swiss Department of External Affairs has declared, does not wish to participate in any sanctions against Libya.

5911

CSO: 3620/215

RETIRING NATO NORTHERN FORCES CHIEF: AREA'S IMPORTANCE GREATER

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 4 Feb 86 p 80

[Article by Liv Hegna: "Silent Scot Will Miss His Command at Kolsas"; first paragraph is AFTENPOSTEN introduction]

[Text] The arguments about Norway and the Norwegian Sea are dependent on each other. The loss of one will be decisive for the fate of the other. This was said by General Sir Richard Lawson, commander of the NATO Northern Forces Command in an interview with AFTENPOSTEN. On 10 February he will leave the country after three and one-half years in command at Kolsas. He gives the Norwegian chief of defense, General Fredrik Bull-Hansen, his unqualified support for increased defense appropriations: "It is the number of ships, aircraft and tanks which means something. Appropriations for key weapons and equipment should be expedited," he said.

British friendliness, Scotch humor, and all the best qualities of an officer that one can imagine. Those are some of the adjectives used by the people who know Sir Richard Lawson when they speak of him. As for himself, he told AFTENPOSTEN that he will miss the military life when he leaves the British Army after 40 years service.

Low Profile

But General Lawson is also known for keeping a very low profile in relation to the media. He seldom meets the press. But he insists that the reason is not bad experiences. "It is my mistake. And it has happened that journalists do not understand and repeat things incorrectly. One must live with that. But we have a formidable strength in the West in the free press and the democratic form of government. It is totally different from how conditions are behind the Iron Curtain," said General Lawson.

To the question of whether East-West relations have changed after the entry into the arena of party chief Mikhail Gorbachov, General Lawson answered, "Gorbachov is probably for reduction of tensions in order to win time to solve some of the Soviet Union's pressing internal problems. But there is no indication that there has been any fundamental internal change in their paranoia, their expansionist pressure or their unwillingness to change their approach to the rest of the world."

The Threat

"Soviet military strength continues to grow on land, in the air and on the sea. Is Norway meeting this threat appropriately?"

"We cannot measure Norway's national defense against the total resources which the Soviets can send against the northern area. We can only get a correct picture by balancing all the contributions of NATO against the forces that the Warsaw Pact can realistically deploy. If we put all that together we will find good reason to believe that no Soviet planner can recommend to his political leaders that a military operation in our area would be an easy task," said General Larson.

Controlled Decline

"A budget increase in Norway of 3.5 percent appears to be attainable politically. At the same time the defense chiefs point out that this will result in a controlled decline in the defense forces, and they themselves have recommended an alternative budget. Would you care to comment?"

"It is a question of how much confidence the politicians have in the judgment of their military leaders. It is my impression that people in Norway are very determined to maintain a credible defense. The problem is to get the Storting to go along. But this problem is not Norway's alone."

General Lawson thinks of the future. "As new generations of weapons systems are developed, it becomes more and more difficult for individual countries, especially the smaller countries such as Norway, to maintain the entire spectrum of defense possibilities alone. The defense effort must be increased within the framework of NATO, and in certain cases this will lead to multinational solutions such as the AWACS surveillance aircraft. But also in the past the alliance has cooperated on tasks such as the so-called "Fire Brigade" and the Standing Naval Forces Atlantic, STANAVFORLANT. Personally, I hope that there will be closer cooperation among nations on the purchase of weapons. That would mean longer production lines and lower prices. Norway has much to offer in the high technology area."

Stand Together

"What advice would the General give the politicians in this connection?"

"I believe the alliance countries must stand together on industrial development and production across Europe."

"Another argument for Norway to enter the EC?"

"There is a connection between security and economy. If a country bears the burdens of a unified defense of a territory, the countries should also have the advantages of a unified economy," said Sir Richard Lawson.

Neutrality

"Sweden's defense appropriations have declined from five percent of GNP in 1970 to three percent in 1985. Should Norway, as a part of the Northern Command, feel that its back is no longer covered toward the East as before?"

"It appears difficult for Sweden to maintain a strong defense as the weapons become more and more expensive. And Sweden does not have the the same opportunity as Norway to share tasks with allies. If the Soviets continue their military buildup it will be difficult for a country such as Sweden to maintain credibility in its security policy," said the general.

Deterrent

Sir Richard Lawson wants to make it clear for the Soviets that the western alliance can prevent them from gaining control at sea and in the air over the Norwegian Sea. "If reinforcements from outside do not come to Norway before hostilities break out, we must control the Norwegian Sea in order to protect their arrival. Success or failure in Norway and the Norwegian Sea will decide the fight in the Atlantic, and will therefore have a decisive effect on the defense of Central Europe," said General Lawson, and emphasized that United States' exercises in the Norwegian Sea do not mean any marked change in that strategy. It is important to show the flag in these waters, according to the commander of the Northern Command, and he indicated that only the United States can and will undertake this task on the northern flank. In order to maintain low tension in the northern areas allied naval forces must constantly exercise there.

Good Soldiers

The modernization of the Norwegian Army into the Brigade 90 structure is a good measure to test Norwegian terrain and the way in which Soviet forces will attack, said Lawson, who like the Norwegian defense leadership is not satisfied with the delays in the program, and that it appears to be more expensive than estimated, and that only half of the brigades will have the modern structure before the applicable budget has run out.

But Norwegian soldiers have very good standards, says the Kolsas commander, and he stressed that there is a remarkable closeness and similarity between the officers and the men in the Norwegian defense forces. That creates confidence both ways, he said.

And as for the disagreement about military defense which appears to be reflected in the debate, he rejects that by saying that it is merely "shades of the same color." "Norwegian society is thoroughly solid on defense. When I leave this country on 10 February it will be a sad day for me." said General Sir Richard Lawson in his departure interview with AFTENPOSTEN.

9287

CSO: 3639/74

SWISS EXPERT REVIEWS CHANGING MOUNTAIN WARFARE DOCTRINE

Frauenfeld ALLEGMEINE SCHWEIZERISCHE MILITAERZEITSCHRIFT in German Jan 86
pp 5-9

[Article by Col Erhard Semadeni: "Mountain Warfare"]

[Text] Hard and fast rules for all types of mountain warfare in the form of a single tactical doctrine neither existed in the past nor do they exist today. The validity and/or weighting of principles is subject to change. It depends not only on the special circumstances of each case considered, but also on the location and experiences of the person making the observations. For these reasons, this has always been a controversial subject.

What effect will the current threat situation have, and what are its consequences for us?

Part I: Historical - Basic Data

First Problem Complex:

Is mountainous terrain a primary, or a secondary, theater of military operations, or--in other words--is the defender fighting a decisive battle here or limiting himself to delaying actions, to a war of attrition?

Clausewitz and--100 years later--Conrad von Hoetzendorf and also Ulrich Witte considered the mountains a secondary theater of warfare, where, through the delaying actions of relatively weak forces, preparations could perhaps be made for the decisive battle on level terrain.¹ At the same time as Clausewitz was questioning the strategic value, above all, of the mountains for the defender, Jomini was expounding the exact opposite. Mountainous terrain, in his view, was particularly suited for the resolute defender seeking a decision.²

While the successful crossing of the Alps by Suvorov--cited by both authors for opposite reasons--seems to support Jomini's thesis, it is described by Clausewitz as a poor example.³

It is logical, therefore, that in 1820 Clausewitz still prefers to use the Seven-Year War fought by Frederick the Great in Bohemia seven decades before to exemplify the subject of mountain warfare.

In this connection, it is particularly noticeable today to what extent tactics of the United States again make reference to the teachings of Clausewitz: a war of attrition by weak limited-combat units is planned for defense in the mountains.⁴ An example of this, adapted to local circumstances, is offered in Afghanistan.

On the other hand, we see a straight line leading from Jomini to Dufour's work, "Strategies and Tactics," to the three Alpine fortresses, to a conduct of operations using demolition-prepared installations,⁵ to the chief of general staff Sprecher von Bernegg, to General Guisan, and to the Swiss redoubt [final stronghold] of WW II⁶ (Figure 1).

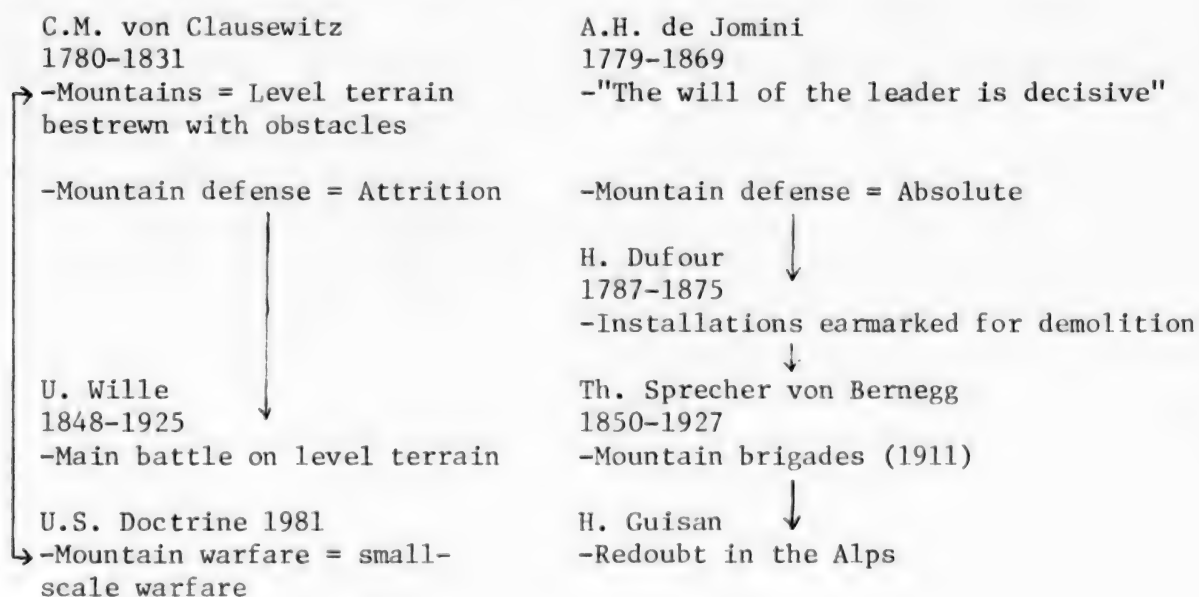


Figure 1. Mountains or Secondary Theater of Operations?

Conclusion: Compared to our neighboring countries, mountain warfare takes on a special strategic significance for our nation. The principles of Clausewitz may perhaps be applicable to the overall European framework of the early 19th century. They are, at any rate, not incontrovertible. For us they remain more academic observations than anything else. And so, in the final analysis, the question as to whether an attack in the mountains would be aimed at opening the north-south axes, the east-west axes, or "only" the blood-letting of the defender, is of secondary importance.

Second Problem Complex:

No two mountains are the same--or: terminology, geography, enemy and mission influence the doctrine and organization of the unit operating in the mountains.

As the first example, it is probably known that in Russian military terminology mountainous terrain begins already with hills having a relative elevation of 200 to 500 m, as is evident from the regulation "Military Forces East."

The second example, on the subject of geography: The Alpine climate cannot be compared with the Nordic climate even when individual parameters are the same: although the annual mean temperatures of the Great Saint Bernhard [pass] and Jenisejsk/Siberia are almost the same, the temperature extremes [at these two locations] differ by more than 20° Celsius⁷ (Figure 2).

	<u>Yearly Average</u>	<u>Winter</u>	<u>Summer</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Great Saint Bernhard 2434 m above m.s.l.	-1.3°C	-7.9°C	+6.0°C	13.9°C
Jenisejsk/Siberia 58° North latitude	-1.7°C	-21.2°C	+17.5°C	38.7°C

Figure 2. Comparison of Alpine with Nordic Climate (Umlauf, p 435)

The third example from the Italian Western Alps offensive of 1940 at the Little Saint Bernhard [pass]: Although the Italian attack in this sector was conducted for 2 weeks with a numerical superiority of 6:1, not even a penetration into the main battle area of the French forces was achieved; the attack bogged down already in the covering [delay] area, which was defended primarily by heavy mine launcher fire and a few specialized platoons of "eclaireurs-skieurs."⁸

In contrast thereto, the conclusions drawn by the commander of the (only) American 10th Mountain Division, which operated in the Italian campaign from February to May 1945. Advancing from the Apennines, the United States 10th Mountain Division was the first to reach the Po plain, and its advance elements were the first to reach Lake Garda when the war ended. On the basis of his wartime experiences, the commander later recommended to the Department of the Army that, basically, a mountain division should be equipped like a normal infantry division for combat on level terrain. Since a mountain division must also see action on level terrain, its equipment with weapons and materiel for purely mountain warfare should be planned with great restraint. A direct result of this situation assessment was the deactivation in December 1945 of the only American mountain division.⁹ Parallels to the changes made in our mountain divisions in 1951 to bring them more closely in line with field divisions with respect to organization, equipment and training suggest themselves.

Conclusion: Neither a Russian mountain warfare doctrine nor one based on the specific experiences of the United States 10th Mountain Division in the Apennines can be uncritically applied to the Alpine region. Thus, for example, the question comes to mind whether the tank, for instance, undeniably the main threat in the midlands also in the 1990's, would occupy a comparable position in the mountains.

Third Problem Complex:

Do the elevations [mountains] dominate, or do the valleys--or: how great is the influence of technology on tactics in mountain warfare?

The Austrian and founder of the "Imperial Infantry" battalions, Gen Baron von Luetgendorff, predicted the subsequent development of the Dolomite war already in 1909 in his work "Der Gebirgskrieg" [Mountain Warfare]. His guiding principle, "The elevations dominate [control] the valleys," indoctrinated not only Austrian military thinking at that time but even more so Italian thinking.¹⁰

He was contradicted after WW I by his countryman, General von Krauss: As chief of staff of the Army "Archduke Eugen," he had learned, particularly during the Tyrolean offensive of 1916, that even the remaining mountain positions of the defender were unable to accomplish anything in the flanks of a surprise, high-momentum attack carried out in the valley. Thus "the valleys dominate the elevations," or: back to Clausewitz.¹¹

A middle position was taken--likewise after WW I in the 1930's--by Bavarian General von Dellmensingen. In his work, "Der Durchbruch" [The Breakthrough], he--as, incidentally, Dufour as well in the 19th century already¹²--correlated the significance of elevations and valleys to the range and effectiveness of the heavy support weapons.¹³ In other words: the elevations dominate if the valley axes can be controlled by bursts and/or fire from them, and if they do not pose too many difficulties, terrainwise. Particularly von Dellmensingen had strong arguments on his side: the 12th Battle of the Isonzo, the German-Austrian breakthrough as far as the Piave [river] on Oct 1917, which was not the decisive battle in Italy primarily because no one in the Austrian general staff had anticipated a success of this scope. For that reason, preparations for exploiting the success had been made neither in the operational nor--above all--in the logistic area¹⁴ (Figure 3).

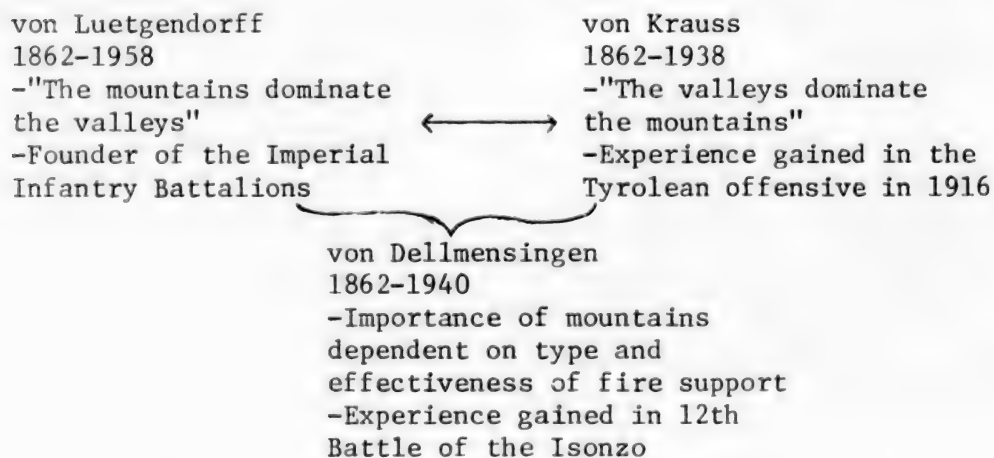


Figure 3. Do the Mountains Dominate, or the Valleys? Opposing Positions from the Time of WW I

Conclusion: The personal experiences of different observers can lead to contrary conclusions even when from the viewpoint of the same military side reference is made to the same theater of operations and the same time frame. The examples cited also confirm that the importance of elevations is dependent, on the one hand, on the range and effectiveness of the fire support, but on the other hand also on the speed and mobility of the attack that is carried out.

Part II: Where Do We Stand Today?

The presentation given below will deal with only one single aspect of the emerging threat picture, and I knowingly accept the criticism of using a one-sided approach. At the same time, there are reasons enough to assume that the continuing increase in Soviet air transport capability and above all in fire support by air-mobile weapons carriers can lead to far-reaching tactical changes, at least in mountain warfare.¹⁵ Comparisons with the employment of armored weapons and dive bombers at the beginning of WW II suggest themselves.¹⁶

There is continuous talk of Soviet offensives in Afghanistan using Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters. What does this mean?

1. Firepower

Within a few seconds, just four Mi-8 helicopters can fire a total of 768 x 57mm air-to-ground rockets with high explosive, fragmentation, or odorless chemical agent warheads.¹⁷ This means, further, that the fire concentration with a target area of 200 x 200m is greater than 10 rounds per 625m². By comparison, the concentration of a conventional artillery battalion's fire, at 60 to 80 rounds in the same target area [200 x 200 m], is ten times less, namely only one round per 625m². At the same time, these same four helicopters, depending on their combat mission, can be armed with a total of 16 x 250 kg bombs, with a bomb load of 4 tons, therefore, or the equivalent payload in air-dropped mines.

2. Low Vulnerability

An article in the newspaper DIE WELT notes in March 1984: "Even after 4 years of war, the Mudjahedin still fear napalm, chemical weapons, and above all the nearly invulnerable Soviet helicopters, but they are not afraid of the Soviet soldier"; and further on: "...the resistance forces continue to lack...air-to-surface missiles and other defenses against helicopters..."¹⁸ Almost one year later to the day, a Reuters report on 6 March 1985 states: "According to this, the rebels have shot down more than ten helicopters since the beginning of the year. This indicates that the resistance forces have for some time had more Soviet-made SA-7 missiles available to them."

To briefly outline the problems associated with defense against attack helicopters, I will confine myself to a depiction of the time relationships, without going into the largely reduced vulnerability of the different types:

An attack helicopter approaching the target at a speed of 250km/h in a pop-up-attack mode¹⁹ opens fire with rockets or automatic cannons at a distance of 2000 to 2500 m. After maintaining this fire for almost 30 seconds, the helicopter breaks away 500 m before the target, and with a radius of curvature of 300 m is within the effectiveness zone of infantry weapons located in the target area for only 13 seconds. If the attack helicopter limits its fire opened at a distance of 2500 m from the target to 15 seconds and then breaks away with the same 300 m radius of curvature, it will, during the entire attack sequence, remain outside the range not only of the small arms located in the target area but also of heavy 12.7mm machine gunds (Figure 4).

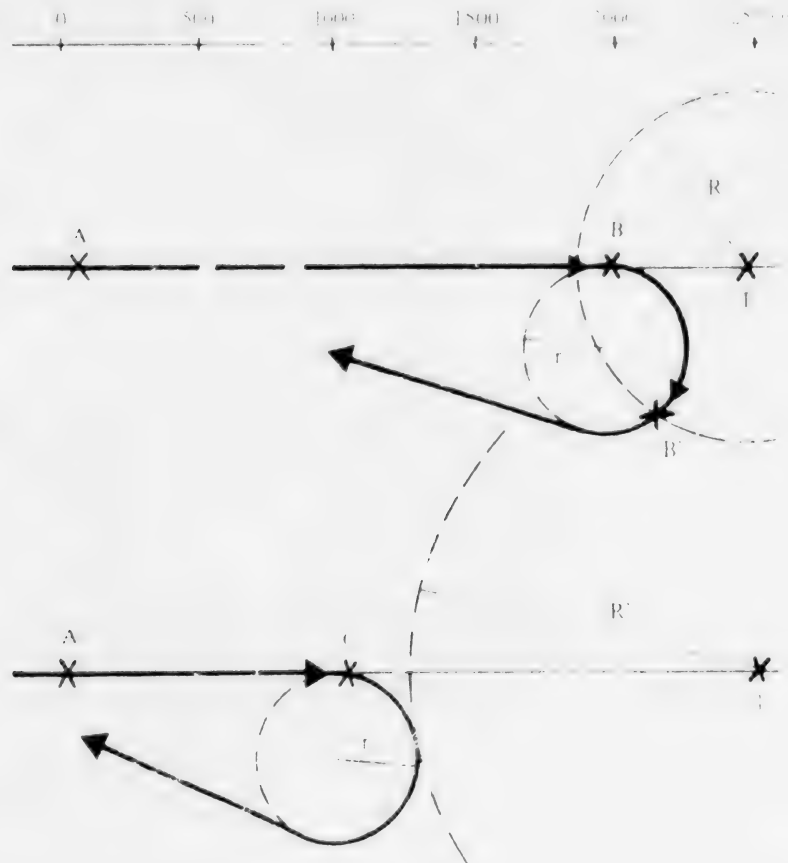


Figure 4. Time Relationships for Engagement of Attack Helicopters

A = Opening of fire at a distance of 2500 m from the target
 B = Target
 C = 600 m range of infantry weapons
 [continued on following page]

$D = 1200$ m range of 12.7 mm machine guns
 $r = 300$ m radius of curvature at an approach speed of 250 km/h of the Mi-24
 $A-B = 2000$ m; 30-second flight time at 250 km/h
 $B-B' = 900$ m; 13-second flight time at 250 km/h
 $A-C = 1000$ m; 15-second flight time at 250 km/h

3. The Threat of Surprise from All Sides

The attack helicopter-supported air-transported infantry attack (leap-frogging attack)²⁰ makes the problem of timely employment of reserves almost insoluble for the earthbound defender. At the same time, this means that the reverse slope has largely lost its importance and protective function, especially for the defender.

4. Threat to Mountain Positions Above the Timberline

Examples of Soviet attacks in the Pashmir high valley (Afghanistan), as well as the service ceiling of 4000 m estimated for the Mi-24 attack helicopter at an ambient temperature of 15° Celsius and a combat payload of 1275 kg, confirm that operations by attack helicopters are currently possible at altitudes above 2500 m, something that was still being disputed a few years ago (Figure 5).

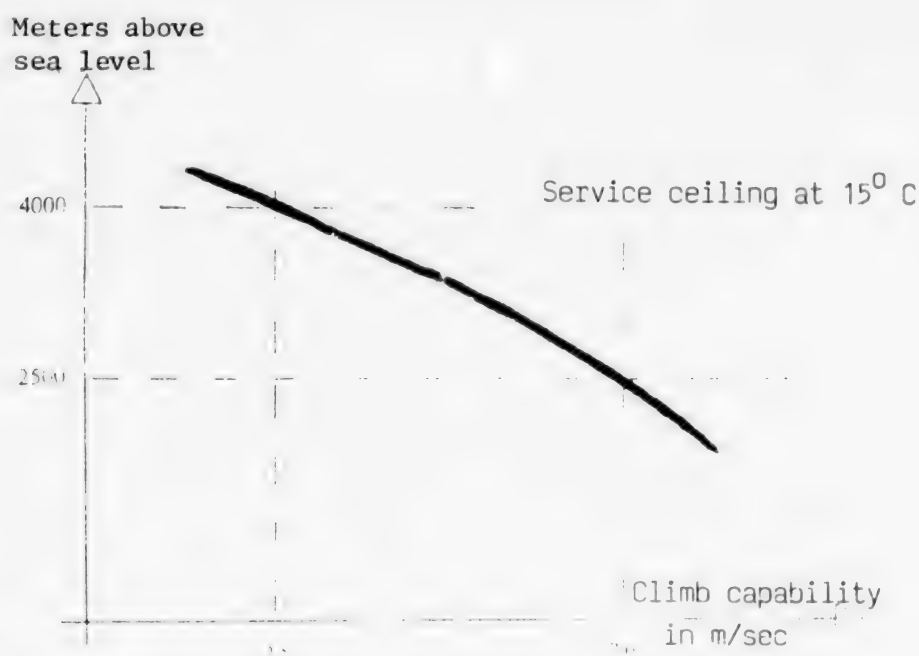


Figure 5. Service Ceiling of the Mi-24 Attack Helicopter

5. Weakness of the Attack Helicopter

And finally--and of special significance particularly for the defender--one last observation: attack helicopters can decimate an inadequately armed or prepared defender, but--contrary to the infantry--they cannot hold terrain.

Conclusions:

1. Today we can, if we keep our eyes open, follow the emerging continued development of the familiar Soviet mountain [warfare] doctrine in Afghanistan as portrayed in the regulation "Military Forces East."

2. For us, the primary question concerns the measures that must be taken in the technological and tactical sectors, so as not to have to pay too high a price in blood in the face of the growing threat from the third dimension. Even though the antiaircraft defenses of the divisions in the midlands and the "air defense weapons density" in the area of the mountain army corps can be currently assessed as good overall, this judgment cannot be simply applied to the mountain divisions armed strictly with road-bound air defense weapons and still less to the individual mountain infantry regiments and battalions.

3. One must always expect that, the less capability the defender has against a specific offensive weapon, the more offensive weapons of that type will be employed by the attacker. In other words: Limiting the antiaircraft defenses of our mountain divisions to road-bound antiaircraft artillery, and at the same time renouncing portable air defense self-protection weapons, poses the great danger that an attacker can employ his attack helicopters on a particularly massive scale precisely against our mountain infantry.

4. As numerically strong as our mountain forces are, as good as morale and training may be, with respect to the threat from above we see ourselves confronted today with several weaknesses and problems requiring solution:

a) The importance of dominant mountain positions and of reverse slopes has decreased.

b) Today the mountain infantry is unprotected against attack helicopter operations, since the effectiveness of machine guns and automatic rifles, at least against Mi-24 attack helicopters, is inadequate with respect to caliber, initial velocity, terminal impact energy, and range.

c) The employment of reserve forces in combat--even if they have not been detected by the enemy during daylight hours--always runs the risk of taking place too late against an air-mobile attacker. For that reason, the employment of a number of numerically weaker reserves operating from decentralized staging areas is generally preferable to a centralized, strong reserve force.

d) And finally we must play our trump cards resolutely: First employ numerical strength for the defense of key terrain, defiles, and populated areas, and avoid a dissipation of forces. And secondly to integrate installations earmarked for demolition and natural obstacles logically into the battle plan, since anyone attacking in mountainous terrain will be primarily concerned with safeguarding his communications links.

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ARMED FORCES INCAPABLE OF EVALUATING COST OF U.S. ARMS

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 24 Jan 86 p 3

[Article by Peter Bergen: "U.S. Arms Producers Charging Outrageous Prices"]

[Text] Copenhagen--Danish defense people are at the mercy of the price demands and production schedules presented by American arms manufacturers because we lack people capable of evaluating the American information on the reasons for prices and production schedules.

The result is that arms and airplane manufacturers can charge outrageous prices for products that take so long to arrive that they are already outdated by the time they are delivered.

A pertinent example is the new F-16 combat plane. The plane's computer system which controls weapons, navigation and attack avoidance maneuvers is already outdated. The Americans have announced that it will take 4 or 5 years to complete a new computer program. By then the program will have been out of date for 4 years.

We are exposed to a lot of pressure from industry. And at times we feel a little foolish and get the impression that we are being manipulated by the weapons industry, according to Major M. Sveigaard Nielsen, who has worked for the Defense Command's Materiel Staff and the Defense Ministry's Advisory Analysis Group. He is a trained pilot and when he was with the Air Force Tactical Command he helped specify the weapons requirements for Danish airplanes.

Seller's Market

It is impossible for Danish military people to decide whether the price of the new F-16 plane is reasonable, for example, the major said: "If we set up an organization as big as an airplane manufacturing company, we might be able to estimate the actual price."

But of course it is not financially possible to set up an organization of this kind. The major mentioned another area where the Danish defense system cannot check information provided by the seller: computers that are safeguarded against enemy "hacking" (tapping) maneuvers.

Only in the unusual cases where the weapons of two manufacturers are precisely identical can market mechanisms work.

Sveigaard Nielsen: "It is amazing how quickly the price drops if there is any real competition and we make an effort to bring the price down."

Danish Production

Others besides manufacturers benefit financially from the military's inability to control these things. "If we use a middleman the price of a product increases 100 percent. We had an example of that recently," said M. Sveigaard Nielsen.

A Danish arms industry would provide greater opportunities for controlling American prices. At least it would keep the large amounts of money in this country. But the Danish ban on exporting arms, spare parts and ammunition to countries at war or threatened by war prevents the buildup of an arms industry.

M. Sveigaard Nielsen is "surprised," to use a diplomatic expression, that weapons technology and civilian technology develop in totally different ways: "In the civilian sector new technology means steadily increasing production for the same price. Or for a lower price. For example, pocket calculators have become both better and much cheaper and accurate digital watches can be bought today for practically nothing.

"We see exactly the opposite effect in the American arms industry. I have yet to see a technological development in the arms industry that has led to getting the same effect for a lower price. Even if a product is not changed the price rises constantly, at a rate that is more than the amount justified by higher wages and increased prices for raw materials. I have not met anyone yet who can explain why this is so.

Small Country

"The defense system of a small country finds a reduction in development time, simplified design, and greater production for the same price or the same production for a lower price attractive. We never run into anything like this."

Military secrecy prevents the major from being more specific in his remarks about arms manufacturers. But under the title "Technological Insanity?" he presented his general criticisms to the Military Technology Society.

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CSO: 3613/67

CONTINUING PROBLEM OF AIR FORCE'S PILOT, GROUND CREW DRAIN

Proposal for Age Stipulation

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 20 Jan 86 p 8

[Editorial: "Fighter Pilots"]

[Text] Danish Air Force leaders are nervous about the departure of pilots. It is debatable whether it is a great financial improvement to be an airline pilot for SAS instead of an Air Force fighter pilot, but it is said to be an advantage that SAS pilots are not moved from one service location to another with the resulting problems in finding housing, getting children used to going to new schools and adjusting to a new local community, etc., etc.

If we ignore the alleged economic advantage of working for SAS, we could ask if real cooperation between the air forces of the Nordic countries and the Nordic civilian enterprise, SAS, which is half state-owned is not in order. Actually such an agreement does exist, but apparently it has not worked very well.

Here the Nordic Council should inspire the cooperation that is so badly needed. At the moment SAS picks up the fighter pilots it needs. The defense system continues the costly pilot training programs and SAS gets a free ride. A reasonable age limit for fighter pilots is 39. The whole thing could be worked out very easily. Training by the military, fighter pilot service until one reaches the late 30's and then a job with SAS. If the military also changes the general but unnecessary practice of constantly shifting service locations, a great deal would be gained. It is seldom that there is such an obvious opportunity for cooperation as there is in this case between SAS and the Air Force.

Ground Crew Say Demoralized

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 21 Jan 86 pp 18-19

[Article by Berit Andersen: "Technicians Leave Air Force"]

[Text] "We never look in the rear-view mirror when we leave. If we did we would see people turning around and laughing at us."

The jokes flew around the table on the Thursday afternoon when we sat and talked to a major, a crew leader, an instructor and two airplane technicians from one of the hangars at Vaerlose Air Base. The traditionally very high loyalty of defense personnel has been exhausted. They are no longer willing to be made fun of for nothing. So now they are laughing at themselves. There is no shortage of humor.

"When you show somebody your paycheck, they think you get paid every 2 weeks."

Or if you ask how many work there: "Well, 5 minutes ago there were 40 of us."

Only Good Humor Left

In reality good humor seems to be the only thing left when airplane technicians talk about the current situation in the Air Force--with a pay rate of 153,000 kroner after 10 years of training, colleagues who disappear almost daily and their natural anxiety about the consequences.

The last aspect is something they don't dare speculate about. All they know is that one of the two Herkules aircraft that is in for inspection has already taken 4 months longer than normal and that a number of their colleagues are currently on loan from the main workshop--and get 2-3000 kroner more a month for the same work because they are civilian employees. At the moment the ground crew is 14 men under its normal level.

Paralysis

Delays in repairing and inspecting almost all types of airplane are getting longer and longer. And last week a careful review of the situation led the airplane mechanics' organization, the Central Association for Permanent Military Personnel, to tell AKTUELT that an almost total paralysis of the Air Force could be predicted.

The people in the hangar that day would not speculate whether that would be the case. The situation changes from one day to the next. But they fear the worst. And with the current investments and plans for new aircraft for both SAS and Maersk, the air base can anticipate a further drain of airplane mechanics. For the only place the civil aviation companies can find people is in the military. And that is what they do. As a matter of course, Maersk recently called up and announced that the company needed 20-30 men.

That is what they have always done, the men in the hangar told us. But since the end of 1984 these calls have become more and more frequent. And nothing has been done to prevent technicians from taking advantage of these offers, which from a purely financial point of view represent a pay increase of between 30,000 and 50,000 kroner. So today the defense system has a problem the consequences of which are now apparent to almost everyone except the defense minister.

Security

"For a long time we profited from the fact that working conditions here at the base were excellent and job security was too. But we can no longer make those things a priority. If you have a wife and children you can't get far on 153,000 kroner a year--including shift work and holidays," said Flemming Hansen, who has worked there for 15 years. He said that for a while last year he had to ask for assistance from a welfare office and ran into an office manager who simply did not believe that he could be earning so little.

"And you have to remember that we are not just airplane mechanics who have to take required follow-up training courses. We are also soldiers who must constantly be available whether it is Christmas Eve or whatever. And we are not paid more than around 150,000 for all that," said Flemming Molgaard, who has spent 11 years in the Air Force.

Responsibility

Both men went through apprenticeship programs as metalworkers before they joined the Air Force. And both are privates first class and airplane technicians with the authority to clear airplanes for flight. It takes time to acquire the training for that and it involves a lot of responsibility. And there are further tests and courses every year. The pay for all that is a base rate of 11,400 kroner. With military increments and payment for shift work and work on holidays, the average monthly pay is 12,700 kroner.

For comparison the two airplane mechanics showed us the paycheck of a former colleague. He now works for SAS and gets a base rate of 15,350 kroner. With overtime pay and various adjustments he gets up to 19,100 kroner. "So it's no wonder people are tempted," they said. And they have been tempted too. Both have now sought nonmilitary jobs, not with SAS but elsewhere in the private sector.

Planning

Air Force leaders are also beginning to feel that the situation is grotesque. Crew leader Niels Egon Rasmussen is in charge of the technicians at the hangar. He has been employed for 37 years and now earns 176,000 kroner a year. And their instructor, Johannes Oddershede, who has gone through all kinds of special training comparable to the program completed by technical school teachers, is paid 40,000 kroner less than his civilian colleagues.

But for the chief of the hangar, Major E.O. Hansen, the overshadowing problem is planning, which has become almost impossible.

"Mechanics must give 3 months' notice and that is as far ahead as I can plan."

Mood

The mood and the climate resulting from constantly saying goodbye to colleagues is another thing.

"We have told ourselves all along that things would have to get better. But we no longer believe that," all five of them told us. "And of course that affects our mood, our desire to work and the general climate. We snap at each other as we have never done before. For the pressure on those of us who are left is becoming greater all the time. We run around and have to do everything with the result that we get confused and constantly have to start over from the beginning. Then we have to go outside and give flight clearance. In again to help a colleague. Back outside to report completion of a job. Inside to work on what we were doing in the first place. And then the whole thing starts all over again.

"It is intolerable. It is a vicious circle. We get farther and farther behind with what we are supposed to be doing. That is repairing airplanes so that they are always in good condition and safe to fly."

Solution

The people in the hangar feel the only solution to the problem is to pay higher wages.

"If we just got paid extra for all the drawbacks and the big responsibility we have," the airplane mechanics said. "It feels dumb to work for 6 kroner an hour in overtime.

"If we don't get more pay soon the Air Force might as well declare bankruptcy right now. Things will just get worse.

"The resignations have not peaked yet. They will get worse than they are now. For instance we have started to see older people leaving too. And it is also new to have people quit without having another job lined up.

"Although we like our jobs and are reluctant to seek greener pastures, we must confess that our shoulders are not broad enough to bear the burden we are subject to now," said Flemming Molgaard and Flemming Hansen.

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CSO: 3613/67

ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND CHIEF BACKS DOMESTIC ARMS MAKING

Would Aid Shipbuilding Industry

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 Feb 86 Sect III p 4

[Article by Nils Eric Boesgaard: "Armed Forces Would Like to Have Danish-Built Materiel"]

[Text] The chief of the Army Materiel Command would like to have Danish-built armored personnel vehicles. On the other hand, he does not think that the Danish electronics industry will be able to produce antitank and anti-aircraft missiles.

"The Danish shipyards will easily be able to build new armored personnel vehicles for the armed forces. This has been my bold thought since I took over the job here two years ago," the chief of the Army Materiel Command, Major General T. Hjalf, says.

This is a comment to Knud Damgaard, the Social Democratic Party's armed forces policy spokesman, who yesterday suggested that some of the crisis concerning Danish shipyards be resolved by letting them build materiel for the armed forces, possibly with a view toward exports to other NATO countries.

"This would be splendid, and we have actually already studied the possibilities," Major General Hjalf says.

"But it would of course only be a question of building under license. The development of modern military materiel is a too costly and complicated process for us to be able to tackle it here at home."

"For example, what it could be a question of is building under license in connection with the replacement of the almost 30-year-old M-113 armored personnel vehicles. It would certainly be easiest for Danish industrial firms to build wheeled vehicles, and we have in fact looked at a number of possibilities. In part, a Swiss MOWAG, and in part various French types."

Knud Damgaard also mentions the possibility that the Danish electronics industry would be able to produce antitank and antiaircraft missiles. But Major General Hjalf does not believe in this.

"It is possible that there could be a question of partial production, but most of the missile plants have their quite particular secrets, and I think it quite improbable that they would give them away to a licensed manufacturer."

He also does not believe in the Danish manufacture of hand arms; for example, a new unified weapon on the lines of those being introduced in France, Great Britain and the USA for the replacement of both rifles and machine pistols.

"We do not need such great amounts that it would pay to start production, and, finally, there are no plans at all at the moment to replace the armed forces' leased German model M-75 rifles," Major General Hjalb adds.

"The armed forces would always like to look after Danish firms," Defense Minister Hans Engell says in a comment on Knud Damgaard's "idea."

"It is correct that within the coming year we are confronted with having to take a position on the procurement of new armored personnel vehicles."

"It is possible, then, that something can come of such a joint effort, but we have not yet concluded our market studies and for this reason it is too early to say anything about this."

"As far as the antiaircraft missile is concerned, we are farther along and there are talks abroad regarding compensation production in Denmark. As far as exports are concerned, we certainly have to face the fact that, first, we have restrictive legislation in this area, and, second, our possibilities have been quite limited for many years, because other countries themselves are producing what they need," the defense minister says. "But if there are selling opportunities, then it is certainly only gratifying and then they will be exploited."

Shipbuilders Association Favors Idea

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 Feb 86 Sect III p 4

[Article by Henrik Damm: "Shipbuilders Association Accepts Alternative Production"]

[Text] The president of the Shipbuilders Association bids the initiative from Knud Damgaard welcome. He emphasizes that any restructuring of production at the shipyards requires considerable investment.

The Shipbuilders Association views positively Knud Damgaard's suggestion that part of the Danish army's armored personnel vehicles be built at the Nakskov Shipyard. An order which in any case will amount to about 100 million kroner.

The president of the Shipbuilders Association, Aalborg Shipyard Director Haakon Jensen, says to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that any initiative which can save employment at Danish shipyards is positive. But he stresses at the same time that any restructuring for another kind of production will cost considerable investment--precisely as in other firms.

"We will consider it as a very fine development project and it is in fact positive to let part of the money stay in Denmark. But, as I said, it requires investment for restructuring," Haakon Jensen says.

Incidentally, the crisis in the Danish shipbuilding industry is being discussed today at a meeting of the Industry Ministry's special contact committee for the shipbuilding industry. Two of the most central points are whether the Danish shipbuilding industry can get the go signal for financial arrangements so they can "match" the competition from foreign shipyards.

At the same time decisive meetings are being begun between ØK [the East Asiatic Company] and Difko regarding the share-financed drilling rigs which have been planned to be built at Nakskov. A project which gradually more and more it seems will be abandoned. What could possibly replace the drilling rig project is lost in uncertainty. And what will possibly happen between Difko and the shareholders in the remaining one rig is just as uncertain.

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LAST MIG 21 F ALL WEATHER FIGHTERS RETIRED FROM SERVICE

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 18 Jan 86 p 20

[Article dateline⁴ Jyvaskyla: "MiG-21 F Fighters End up as Museum Items"]

[Text] The MiG-21 F13 fighters that have completed their service will be transformed into museum items or junk on Friday. They will not be flown again in Finland even one more time.

The person sitting in the cockpit for the four minute long farewell flight was Captain Hannu Vartiainen, who had to be content with a rather modest display of aerial acrobatics in the gray and snowy weather. It included some barrel rolls and pendulum turns.

Responsibility for Vartiainen's program was assumed over a radio connection from the ground by the squadron commander, Major Erkki Ikonen, who deplored the bad weather. "The flyer cannot distinguish the horizon. He has to fly by instrument. There is no margin for error."

When the MiG had taxied to the line Captain Vartiainen went to report to the commander of the Air Force, General Rauno Merio, to whom Ikonen attested that the MiG-21 F's services for the Air Forces had ended.

Vartiainen's flying buddies considered his display so historical that they threw him into the air a few times. The man's mood was sad. He had managed to fly the MiG-21 800 hours during seven years.

Vartiainen and many other flyers praised the flight characteristics of the MiG F model as the best that they had had the opportunity to test. Development has brought the new types additional power, instruments, ergonomic comfort and technical details, but also weight and difficulty in controlling.

During over 20 years the F model has been involved in only five accidents in Finland in which the plane was destroyed. In these one flyer died.

In the opinion of Major Ikonen the MiG-21 F13 is really a vagabond that just begins to pick up speed at 1.8 times the velocity of sound. For safety reasons the maximum speed, however, is only twice the speed of sound.

"It obviously would go over it if it were allowed to do so," Ikonen insisted.

MiG purchases from the Soviet Union began in the 1960's. The decision to buy was taken in 1962, and the MiG-21 F13 model planes served in the Air Force officially from 24 April 1963 to 17 January 1986.

For reasons of military secrecy the total number of planes in the MiG squadron was not revealed, but in international usage the number of planes in a squadron is from 20 to 40.

More MiG-21 planes have been built than any other plane in the world, and there are dozens of different models of them on the market.

The MiG-21 F's came to Finland as an interceptor-fighter, but latter were switched to reconnaissance duties and were equipped with cameras, among other things. Their base was in Tikkakoski. The F model planes are being replaced by bis models, which have better automation and armaments than their predecessors.

The commander of the Air Force, General Rauno Merio, turned over two planes to the Central Finland Air Museum, which will not be able to house them, however, because of a lack of space; home for the planes will continue to be the halls of the garrison.

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CSO: 3617/60

ARMY CARRIES OUT LARGE TAMMI 86 EXERCISE IN SOUTH

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 20 Jan 86 p 13

[Article by Martti Heikkila: "Tanks Rumble in the Bitter Cold Weather. The Large Tammi 86 Exercise of the Armed Forces Is in Full Swing in the Forests of Southern Finland"]

[Text] The weather was favorable for the armed forces exercise that is causing a stir in the forests and fields south of Riihimäki and Hyvinkää right now. At the beginning bitter cold and then a little milder and snowstorms like those in the Winter War. The flu virus is trying its best among the 12,000 persons on maneuvers but so far with few results. Only a handful of sniffing and feverish patients have had to leave in the middle of the exercise, and only a few frostbite cases have turned up.

In the Tammi-86 exercise a yellow force numbering a couple of thousand men began an attack from the Jokela region in the south northwards on Monday with the objective of catching the blue group with their pants down, the latter being still in the process of getting organized. The ten thousand man strong blue forces got their ranks in good order, however, and were able to slow down the advance of the yellow forces.

The yellow attackers operated in a formation like that of a super-power army. For the exercise an armored infantry brigade was formed with a company of new T-72 tanks as the shock element.

Erkki and Esipuhe in the Support Forces

The blue defending forces have equipment of an older kind. Nine horses, which are practicing the arts of war as support horses for an infantry battalion, were rushed to the exercise from Niinisalo. On the other hand the horses' age is less than that of much military equipment in the Finnish Army, ten years on the average.

Field stables were built for Erkki, Esipuhe, Humina and six other warhorses in which they can stand the cold while the men are in tents. Esipuhe's reins are held by light infantryman Vesa Nieminen from the school of veterinary medicine in Niinisalo. "As to how it's going, this is a pleasant change. I have no complaints. We arrived Monday morning, there are only a few days left."

"I Am Just Winding"

The exercise is so extensive with its many military units that the rank and file soldier cannot and is not even supposed to know what is really going on. The reel winding phenomenon appears: "I do not know I am just winding a reel."

The student Mika Helin, however, has all the threads well in hand. On Sunday morning he was guarding a minefield laid by the blues with the assignment of preventing their own, blue vehicles from running over the mines.

Helin, who is serving in the noncommissioned officer school of the Uusimaa Light Infantry Battalion, is a member of the First Platoon of the 1st Company of the 1st Battalion of the 12th Brigade in the exercise. "The Second and Third Platoons are in combat behind that forest. Our platoon did not arrive here until yesterday because there was a problem with the vehicles."

Celsius Moving Out

First Lieutenant Sakari Keckman guided his tank company to the farm land between Hyvinkaa and Ridasjarvi on Sunday.

Ten new T-72 tanks thundered on the edge of the forest and awaited the chief of the tank crew, Sergeant Jari Laaksonen, who is running and scouting a suitable route for the tanks. Permission has been requested from the landowner to use the fields, but the horse pastures are not supposed to be driven on in the wrong way or the culverts broken. Hence the routes have to be examined carefully.

Laaksonen soon settles on a route and reports the situation to his commander. The objective is the road from Hyvinkaa to Ridasjarvi, it is to be seized in an audacious assault.

Keckman shows his plan to Laaksonen on the map: "The road has to be taken. Attack along this open field, there probably will be anti-tank missiles waiting, you have to watch out for them especially. Celsius will move out in front to the edge of that clump of forest over there, then I shall push you past it."

Tanker slang is flourishing.

Even large ditches do not stop the tanks. They careen through the ditch bottoms one at a time and move to the edge of the attack zone ready for the assault. Zero hour is 1207.

Exactly at 1207 Keckman's tank company moves out, ten 580 kilowatt V-12 engines roar, and within a few minutes the road is in the possession of the yellow force tanks. They turn on the road, the capture has succeeded.

The Blues Debated about a Counterattack

The yellows have attempted an airborne operation to scatter the blue defense. The guard company that was defending the Hyvinkaa air field was alert, and the airborne troops who jumped out of the helicopters suffered heavy casualties. Already on Monday, however, the yellows managed to obtain a foothold on the airfield grounds, and the blues had a headache.

First the attack of the yellows had to be brought to a stop and then they themselves had to attack. If the exercise goes according to the plans of the top leaders, tomorrow, Tuesday, the blues will have prepared a numerically larger force for the counterattack. The yellow super power force will get to prepare for a defensive battle.

The blues are using the Finnish Pasi armored personnel carriers. The light infantry will probably make abundant use of them in the counterattack for the first time in such a large exercise.

50,000 Tubs of Yoghurt

Pea soup is not the only meal in the exercise but it is eaten. Before Tammi-86 is over on Wednesday evening 4,300 kilograms of peas will have been consumed. Five tons of butter, 34,000 liters of milk, 50,000 tubs of yoghurt and 18 tons of meat products will disappear into the soldiers, most likely with a good appetite.

The modern disposable packages are a problem for the army too. The forces have been given special instructions for destroying them, "so that a few landowners and mushroom hunters do not defeat a 12,000-man army." The exercise leadership gave assurances that the protection of nature was being looked after carefully.

12893

CSO: 3617/60

MILITARY

FINLAND

MINISTRY 5-YEAR PROGRAM EMPHASIZES GROUND FORCES MODERNIZING

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 21 Jan 86 p 6

[Unsigned news article: "Continued Preference for Ground Forces in Procurement"]

[Text] It is clear from the Defense Ministry's new five year plan that the emphasis in developing the defense forces is still on modernizing the ground forces. The ground forces' share of procurement in the years 1987-91 is 48 per cent.

According to the plan the number of refresher exercises will be increased and a 50 per cent increase in the pay for reservists participating in the exercises will be proposed. At present economic difficulties prevent about a third of those receiving orders from participating in the refresher exercises. It is reported from the Defense Ministry that in the procurement for the ground forces there will continue to be the renovation of infantry weapons, purchases of armored and other vehicles, renovation of the field artillery and purchases of logistical, engineering, communications and other equipment.

For maritime defense the purchase of a guided missile ship squadron is still current as is the modernization of the coast artillery. Anti-aircraft surveillance is being brought up to date and anti-aircraft defense is still being strengthened and new air defense equipment is being put into operation in its entirety.

According to the plan the personnel shortage has constituted one of the most difficult problems of the defense forces. The ministry anticipates at any rate the implementation of the third parliamentary defense committee's recommendations or an increase of 1,000 persons within five years. Of these 325 will be officer and staff officer positions.

There is also the wish to increase the number of recruits. According to the ministry there has been a lag of 29 per cent from the personnel recommendations of the parliamentary defense committee.

12893

CSO 3617/60

ARMED FORCES COMMANDER URGES LONGER CONSCRIPT SERVICE

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 27 Jan 86 p 11

[Unsigned news article: "Valtanen Wishes but Does Not Believe: The Term of Service for Conscripts Should Be Lengthened"]

[Text] In the opinion of the commander of the defense forces, General Jaakko Valtanen, the term of service for conscripts should be lengthened from the present eight or eleven months, because of future requirements. In the same breath, however, Valtanen considers that such a decision cannot be taken.

"The political and economic prerequisites are lacking at the moment," Valtanen said in an interview in the Sunday AAMULEHTI. It is not clear from this how long a period of military service Valtanen would want.

Valtanen noted that Finland had an extremely short period of service by European standards. For example, West Germany has decided to lengthen its own 15-month conscription service.

When the equipment becomes more technical eight months is really a tight period of training, Valtanen said.

Developments in Finland have made the period of service of conscripts a little longer even though the tour of duty itself has not been lengthened; more and more young people have simply gone into training that requires 11 months' service.

In 1984 7 per cent of the conscripts were trained to be officers, 25 per cent to be noncommissioned officers and 13 per cent for technical specialties. Thus nearly half of the age group performs the longer tour of duty or 11 months.

In the same interview Defense Minister Veikko Pihlajamäki indicates his belief that increasing the number of persons serving 11 months would relieve the current situation. In the opinion of the Defense Minister the training given in the Finnish defense forces is clearly more effective than that of many countries with longer training periods.

12893

CSO: 3617/60

SHIPOWNERS' ASSOCIATION CHIEF ON MERCHANT FLEET AND NATO

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 4 Feb 86 p 42

[Article by Grete de Lange: "Shipowners' Association's David Vikoren Says Merchant Fleet Important for NATO"; first paragraph is AFTENPOSTEN introduction]

[Text] "We must not forget the enormous resource represented by our foreign-flag registered merchant fleet. The Norwegian-owned foreign-flag registered merchant fleet is larger than the merchant fleets of nine of the NATO countries. Our goal is to have agreed control over this fleet in case of war, a task which we hope to accomplish in cooperation with our NATO allies," said David Vikoren, administrative director of the Norwegian Shipowners' Association, in a speech Monday at the Oslo Military Society.

The title of the speech was "Norwegian Shipping in Readjustment; Is Our Preparedness Being Weakened?"

Vikoren said that during the last war the great Norwegian merchant fleet was said to have the same value as a million soldiers. The merchant fleet is therefore not only important for employment and the economy, it is also enormously important for preparedness. That is a factor which is being overlooked in the current political debate on the merchant marine.

Our Most Important NATO Contribution

"In a wartime situation it is the merchant fleet which will be our most important NATO contribution. Cutting our merchant fleet under the Norwegian flag in half has consequences for our preparedness, especially if the negative tendency continues. Therefore it is an important national duty to see that this tendency is broken.

Norway has perhaps the world's foremost shipping expertise. If Norwegian authorities will change the framework of conditions for operation under the Norwegian flag, the Norwegian-registered fleet will grow again--perhaps double in a short time. That would be an inexpensive way to strengthen the preparedness of NATO and Norway, said Vikoren. He emphasized that the shipping industry did not want government subsidies. Shipowners do not want any grant from the defense budget or other state budgets.

The path followed by the United States and others is frightening. The way to go is with untraditional solutions which will reduce the costs of operating under the Norwegian flag, as recommended by the operating plan of the Shipowners' Association.

Vikoren emphasized that the Shipowners' Association has been working for a long time with a solution which can ensure that Norwegian-owned tonnage under foreign flags will operate for the alliance in case of war.

He especially emphasized that the solution must be found in cooperation with our allies. Norwegian shipowners today own ships registered in 32 countries, but most of them are in Panama and Liberia. It is important for the industry that a cooperative solution provides the necessary guarantees for war insurance and allied military protection for ships and crews.

The legal conditions must be clarified, and satisfactory agreements must be reached with the countries of registration. The agreed conditions with the Norwegian owners concerned must be based on voluntary participation. There is every reason to believe that the voluntary participation will be very large.

Operating responsibility in crisis and war must be clarified as soon as possible. According to Vikoren there is good reason to make an arrangement under the NATO readiness organization, in which Nortraship takes the operating responsibility in close cooperation with Norwegian shipowners and operators. He emphasized that the United States is the allied country which has gone the farthest to solve the problem of crisis control of the tonnage which is controlled by American owners under the flags of other countries.

9287

CSO: 3639/74

KONGSBERG VAPENFABRIKK TO INSTALL HAWK MISSILE BATTERIES

Krupp Gets Largest Share

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 15 Jan 86 p 20

[Article by Liv Hegna]

[Text] Norwegian design influence will characterize the Hawk batteries coming to Norway. Kongsberg Vapenfabrikk will install the cables and adapt the German homing equipment to the Hawk antiaircraft missile system. Krupp Atlas Elektronik will supply the homing equipment. The same German company will also deliver the sonar equipment for the modernized Kobben-(Seal-) class submarines and for the Ula-class submarines which will be delivered to Norway in the years ahead.

Kongsberg Vapenfabrikk's involvement with the Hawk batteries is relatively minor, according to information given to AFTENPOSTEN by company representatives. The big contract was made between the (Norwegian) Defense Department and Krupp Atlas Elektronik. The contract for the homing equipment for the antiaircraft missile system is worth roughly 100 million kroner. The optical equipment in the homing system has been subcontracted to the Hughes Aircraft Corporation, in the United States.

The Hawk batteries will significantly improve the antiaircraft capacities of the airfields at which the system is deployed. The system has an outstanding altitude ceiling of 40,000 feet, and its long effective range makes remote delivery of weapons against airfields difficult. Conditions in Norway are such that we cannot always avail ourselves of the Hawk's long range, because of terrain barriers surrounding some of our airfields. There has been talk of replacing the Nike batteries which are deployed at four airfields in Ostlandet with Hawk missiles.

New Facilities in Bodo

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 17 Jan 86 p 4

[Text] The deployment of the Hawk missile system at Bodo Air Station will involve the construction of new workshops and other buildings in Bodo. Some of them are already under construction, and this spring will see an expansion of the western portions of the air station, where more parking space and runways are necessary. This expansion is part of the NATO Infrastructure program, according to the commander of the Bodo Air Station, Colonel Per Utgard.

BRIEFS

AIRFIELDS RESERVED FOR F-16--"We have earmarked three short-runway airfields for use by the F-16s: Leknes, Skagen/Stokmarknes and Bronnoysund, but there could be more," said Bodo Air Station commander, Colonel Per Utgard at a press conference on Wednesday. "We have undertaken some improvements of these airfields. We are making sure that the fuel supply capacity is adequate and mounting brake wires on the runways in case the braking parachutes on the F-16s should malfunction, something which fortunately happens very seldom. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 17 Jan 86 p 15] 8954/12624

CSO: 3639/64

CURRENT STATE OF GOTLAND HOME GUARD REPORTED

Stockholm ARMENYT in Swedish No 6, 1985 pp 30-31

Article by Maj Bengt Ahrnfelt: "Gotland Home Guard"

[Text] Today there are on the island thirty Home Guard areas divided into four districts with a total of about 2,500 Home Guard men and women. The figure for membership must be considered good. It means that every twentieth Gotlander belongs to the Home Guard. The following article gives an account of the Gotland Home Guard.

In a thoroughfare after an exercise many years ago, one of the Gotland unit commanders said, "On our island we have the advantage of fighting with the sea at our backs -- no room for delaying tactics or defense in depth -- attack leads only to combat." What he wanted to point out above all was naturally the source of strength that comes from insight into the necessity of rapid action and initiative. No time for hesitation, no time to waste. The enemy must be met the moment he touches Gotland soil and hit wherever he appears on the island.

The awareness of this, together with the love the Gotland population has for its home island, is clearly an excellent basis for an organization such as the Home Guard, and among those who vie for the honor of having started the Swedish Home Guard movement there are included inhabitants of Gotland. In a war we must win the "first round," otherwise the war is lost. This is the spirit in which the Home Guard on Gotland must work.

New Military Assignments

Belonging to an organization that is always on a war footing with preparation all days a year throughout all hours of the day is something that suits the Gotlander. Having at the same time to do one's work in the fields and pastures and to be ready for an incident on the beach or at sea gives a realistic background to a meaningful and vital activity. In the relatively sparsely populated Gotland landscape, one also easily notices our strange, new features.

Newfangled ideas such as incident groups and Home Guard with naval assignments seem completely natural. In cooperation with both the Voluntary Command Training Unit and the Sea Defense Corps, the Home Guard has now taken over responsibility for starting a coastal radar reconnaissance station. The work will be equivalent to that done by several naval units. Clever people, who live on the spot, have been selected for this purpose and given the necessary training to accomplish these new and interesting assignments.

Major Sven Hedengran, who was well known in his time -- a small, legendary company and battalion commander of old I 18, with combat experience in Finland -- spoke as early as the 1940s with enthusiasm on how one should set up the simplest and cheapest grenade throwers on Gotland farms. They should be installed ahead of time and pointed toward possible targets. Then the farmer on his farm would only have to put grenades down the barrel when the enemy was at the predicted places. We have not gotten so far yet, but today the first Gotland -- and with it the first Swedish -- Home Guard artillery battery is about to be installed with four 10.5 cm howitzers m/40. The battery is to be manned by the Home Guard. Its fire will cover an important part of southern Gotland. They hope to participate in Gotland's artillery regiment's final maneuvers in March of next year. In connection with the installation of this battery, other ballistic ideas have been discussed. The need for trained fire observers among the Home Guard personnel will require training in this area.

The Significance of the Home Guard for the Defense of Gotland

On an island where most of the military personnel at mobilization will come from the mainland, the Home Guard has the obvious task in the initial stages of readying and attending to the string of defensive weapons that lie along the shore. Add to this all the harbors that must either be defended or prepared for destruction, as well as those that must be supplied with provisions, personnel, and other things in expectation of the arrival of the mainlanders, and the decisive significance of the Home Guard stands out quite clearly for initial defense capability. The Home Guard must also be prepared to function before the mainlanders arrive, which in some cases may be a long time. At worst this may mean that the Home Guard will have to replace the regular units in some places.

A large, difficult problem is the need for the completion of fieldwork in peacetime. In Gotland the countryside is often rocky, and where the earth stratum is covered, it is usually thin. In this period of a tight economy there is no room for extensive operations unless one uses imagination and invention. Simple and rather cheap concrete pipes, for example, can be buried around an object to give reasonable protection.

Cooperation

Gotland is a small island with a limited population but with an excellent will among the people to defend themselves. Both the Home Guard and the majority of the various voluntary organizations are represented, and each carries on its share of lively activity. This means that cooperation is absolutely necessary. We cannot afford to come into conflict. Cooperation is handled in the Voluntary Organizations' Cooperative Committee (POS), and it works well. We help each other. A certain healthy competition is of value, but always with complete respect for one another.

Finally, I would like to point to the Gotlander's inherent interest in shooting. Hunting seabirds, hares, wild rabbits, and foxes is something every boy does. This also means that he practices shooting and to a great extent participates in shooting events. This is reflected in the good results on the part of the participating Gotland team at the national Home Guard competitions through the years.

The danger of war has always been a reality for the Gotlanders. Their will to defend themselves is strong. The new guidelines of the national commander of the Home Guard have had a very positive reception. They have even been welcomed as cheerful and stimulating. Now we have gotten something we can bite into! The weapon is loaded.

912¹

CSO: 3650/128

KNOOPS ON EXPORT GROWTH, STRATEGY

Brussels LE SOIR in French 27 Dec 85 p 2

[Text] A paradox, Belgian-style? Our exports continue to increase while our balance of trade has registered a deficit for the past 12 years.

Foreign trade, and particularly exports, were one of the priorities classified by the Martens V government under the master heading of competitiveness. Today, these are once again an issue, addressed by the Martens VI administration, under the direction of Herman De Croo and Etienne Knoop, minister and secretary of state of foreign trade, respectively.

According to Etienne Knoop, the evolution of our foreign trade in figures has been "more favorable" for the past two years. The balance of trade, which has registered a deficit every year since 1973, is showing some improvement: it shrank from 260 billion Belgian francs in 1972 to 169.5 billion in 1983 and now stands at BF 119 billion for the first eight months of 1985 vs. BF 156 billion for the same period last year.

When asked to explain the reasons for this slight "improvement," the new secretary of state responded: reduction of purchases from abroad due to a slowdown of the world economy but especially as a result the policy of economic recovery pursued by the previous administration "which re-established the competitive position of our enterprises relative to their foreign competitors." In other words, Belgium is selling more abroad. Our share of exports in the world market has risen from 10.8 percent in 1983 to 12.7 percent last year.

Although this situation is favorable at present, two questions arise: First, will this export boom continue? Second, are we exporting the "right" goods to the "right" countries--those with strong, stable markets? Two studies published by two banks, Paribas and the Societe Generale de Banque, attempt to provide answers to these questions.

According to Paribas, which examined the outlook for the Belgian economy in 1986, the competitive edge which enabled us to checkmate some of our competitors on foreign markets gradually diminished during 1985. "Toward the end of the year, we will gradually move to a level of equality with our main trading partners." Does this mean an end to the boom? Paribas, at least, is expecting an increase in volume of approximately 4 percent in 1985 but only

3 percent in 1986. This performance will not be adequate to propel us rapidly into a balance of trade surplus situation. "For 1986, a 50 percent reduction in the trade deficit would be considered to be a commendable performance."

So much for the rather disappointing outlook.... It remains to be seen whether the improvements recorded reflected a move in the right direction. The Generale de Banque addresses this question in its report. Although Belgium's market share (in value) within the OECD (that is, the industrial nations) has deteriorated, it is not because of poor geographic diversification or excessive geographic concentration of our exports. The good news is that, apparently, our exporters did not miss the poles of world development. In other words, our shares of the market increased in rapidly growing markets, in large part in Southeast Asia. The only problem reported: although the destination points for sales of our products evolved in the right direction, they did not evolve rapidly enough.

So much for the markets. What of the products? The same remarks apply. We are selling strong products featured among 25 products selected as being the best products of the year, the most in demand; 16 of these posted an increased share of the Belgian export market. However, once again, Belgium errs on the side of excessive...slowness: the rate of adaptation (for example, in the adoption of a fashionable product or rejection of an obsolete product) is too slow.

The conclusions reached by Generale, like Paribas, provide a warning on the export scene. Despite the high marks awarded to our foreign trade by various parties, both banking institutions believe that in fact a slowdown of exports is linked to the competitiveness problem, a problem that Generale, in particular, defines in a broad sense: attention not only to the prices but also to the quality of products and to our commercially dynamic exporters.

Does the new secretary of state of foreign trade agree with this view? Not quite, but almost.... According to E. Knoops, the quality of Belgian products is considered to be excellent but "it is necessary to ensure that Belgium is no longer perceived abroad as a country which exclusively sells artichokes and iron." According to him, the only factor which has tarnished this Belgian image lies in a service-related problem. For example, it seems that Belgium's main customer, the FRG, has complained of a certain lack of concern demonstrated by Belgian companies in meeting delivery dates.

Mr. Knoops's battle plan is organized into five parts: regaining a competitive edge, emphasis on small and medium enterprises, establishment of an internal European market, development of new Belgian products, consistency with the development program.

In theory, this should help us stay on the right foreign trade course. The statistics for the coming months should indicate whether this is enough. Because, if the experts are to be believed, the key word is speed. And speed is mostly a question of personality.

12798/12790

CSO: 3619/18

ECONOMY EXPERIENCES CONTINUING EMPLOYMENT GROWTH

Significant 1985 Increase Reported

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 11 Dec 85 Sec 3 p 6

[Article by Vøgg Løwe Nielsen and Kristian Hjulsgaard]

[Text] The growth which began in the Danish economy in mid-1983 has continued with considerable strength throughout 1985]

According to the present economic activity indicators, the level of activity will also be high in 1986.

Throughout 1985 there has been a very favorable employment trend. From the third quarter of 1984 to the third quarter of 1985, there has been an employment growth equivalent to approximately 67,000 full-time jobs.

Compared to the third quarter of 1983, the 2-year period up to the third quarter of 1985 has seen an employment growth equivalent to approximately 114,000 full-time jobs.

Index Figures

The above figures appear from the quarterly employment statistics of the Department of Statistics. The statistics, explained in detail in the following article, comprise wage and salary earners only.

If the figures published by the Department of Statistics are converted into index figures on the basis of an annual average in 1983 of 100 (see graph), the figure for the third quarter of 1984 will be 102.4, equivalent to a growth rate in the employment level of 2.4 percent. For the third quarter of 1984, the index figure will be 106, which is an increase of 6 percent over the rate of employment in 1983.

Industry

The level of employment within the industrial sector, computed on a monthly basis, shows continued growth.

As will appear from the table showing the main figures for the labor market, at the end of September 1985, the industrial sector employed nearly 278,000 wage earners and 117,000 salary earners, which is equivalent to a growth rate of 7-8 percent over the employment rate at the end of September 1984. There has been a growth in the employment rate within largely all branches of the industrial sector, but the growth has been largest within industries producing investment goods.

At the end of September 1985, the industrial sector employed a total of 394,600 wage and salary earners, which is an increase by well over 27,000 over September 1984.

Building and Construction Sector

There has been quite a good rate of increase in the level of activity within the building and construction sector throughout 1985.

There has been an increase in the rate of employment within the areas of new building, repair and construction activities.

The number of workers and contractors within the total building and construction sector in the middle of the third quarter amounted to nearly 125,000 persons, which is an increase of upwards of 5,500 over the same point of time in 1984.

In absolute figures, the rate of employment within the total building and construction sector took a largely parallel course from 1983 to 1984 and from 1984 to 1985. However, if the employment is divided into the main groups new building activity, repair activity and construction activity, the trend within the present year was different from that throughout 1984.

The rate of employment within the branch of new building activity showed an increase of approximately 9,000 persons from 1983 to 1984, whereas the increase this year amounted to approximately 3,000. On the other hand, 1985 showed an increase in the rate of employment within the branch of repair activities, whereas the period from 1983 to 1984 saw a declining rate of employment in repair activities.

On the basis of the statistics in the middle of the third quarter, the construction sector has had a largely steady rate of employment of 25,500 persons during the last 2 years.

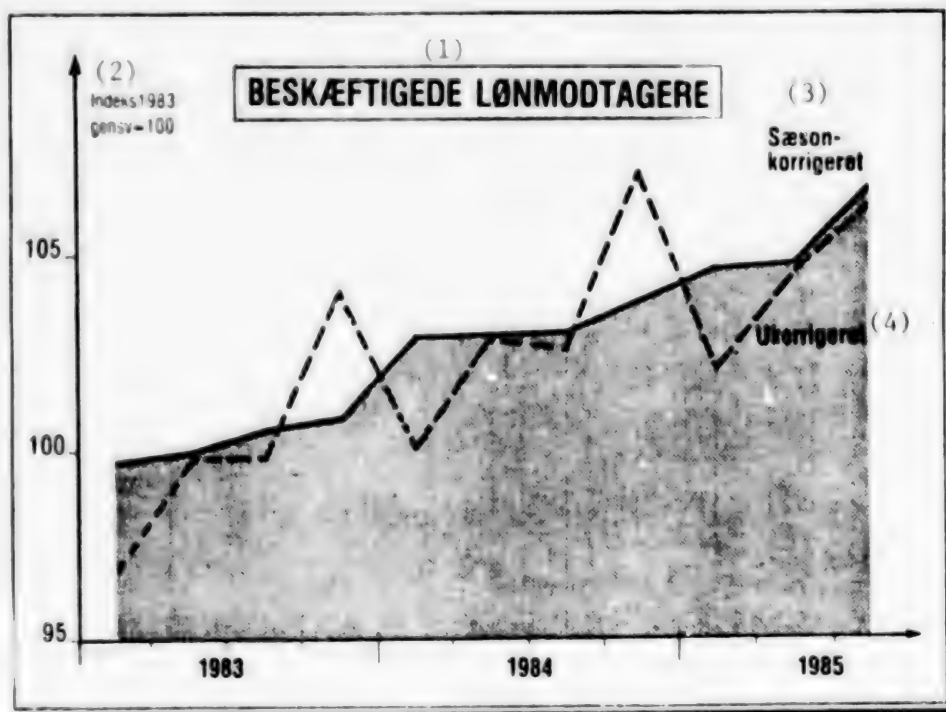
As a result of the employment trend within the building trades, the unemployment rate was practically reduced by 50 percent during the 12-month period from October 1984 till October 1985.

Unemployment Rate

The seasonally adjusted unemployment rate has been declining since the month of February.

As will appear from the graph below, the drop in the unemployment rate continues to be largest among men.

With the continued economic growth expected throughout 1985, a further reduction of the unemployment rate may be expected, despite the economic policy adjustments.



According to the ATP [General Supplementary Pension System] statistics, the seasonally adjusted number of wage and salary earners reached new record-high levels in the third quarter of 1985 and continues to show signs of increase.

Key:

1. Employed wage and salary earners
2. Index 1983
Average = 100
3. Seasonally adjusted
4. Unadjusted

Statistics Show Unemployment Stable

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 11 Dec 85 Sec 3 p 6

[Text] In the spring of 1984, a number of indicators showed a sharp increase in the employment rate, while the unemployment rate remained largely unchanged.

Is such a state of affairs possible? Or were some of the figures wrong, and, if so, which?

The answer is, first and foremost, that it is quite possible for the rate of employment to increase without a simultaneous decrease in the unemployment rate. In addition, some of the indicators may be imprecise, especially with regard to the exact timing of changes.

In the following, this will be discussed in greater detail, and the principal sources of the Danish employment statistics will be given.

Of Denmark's 5.1 million inhabitants, 3.8 million were between the ages of 15 and 74 in the spring of 1984, and 2.7 million or 71 percent of these made up the laborforce, according to the laborforce study by the Department of Statistics.

Persons included in the laborforce are those who, during the week in which the census was taken, had at least 1 hour of paid work, and those who were temporarily not at work during the week in question on account of vacation, illness, unemployment (with daily unemployment benefits or welfare payments) or the like. Persons not included in the laborforce are especially children, persons in the process of education, homeworkers and pensioners.

Jobless

Out of the laborforce of 2.7 million persons in the spring of 1984, 231,000 were without jobs during the entire week when the census was taken and nearly 2.5 million persons were employed. In the late seventies and early eighties, the net increase in the laborforce averaged 20-30,000 persons annually, but during the first 6 months of 1984, the increase reached a level of approximately 50,000 on an annual basis.

At the time, the basis had thus been created for an employment growth of 50,000 without any decline in the unemployment figure.

In addition to the laborforce study based on sample surveys, the Department of Statistics publishes total statistics on the labor market relationship of the population: the register-based labor force statistics, prepared on the basis of excerpts from administrative registers, including, among other things, the register of the tax authorities on annual statements of information from employers.

The publication of the general statistics will necessarily occur somewhat later than the point of time when the census is taken. There is therefore a need for indicators regarding employment trends.

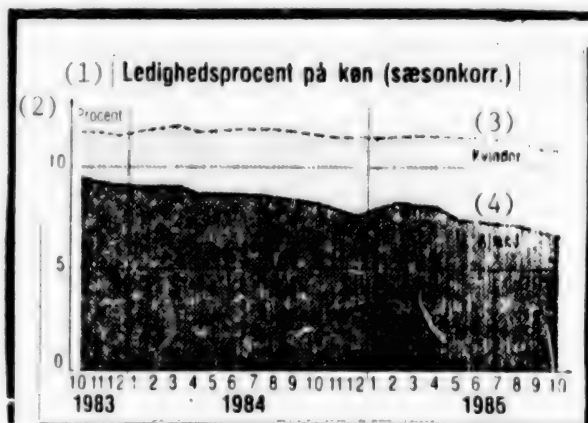
In addition to the unemployment statistics based on the Central Labor Market Register, the most important indicators are the sector statistics for the industrial sector and the building and construction sector as well as the employment statistics of the General Supplementary Pension System.

Both the sector statistics and the General Supplementary Pension System statistics give statistics based on information provided by employers and do not contain any information on individual employees.

While the sector statistics are based on random sampling and do not include the smallest enterprises, the General Supplementary Pension System statistics cover, in principle, all wage and salary earners (but thus not the self-employed and their assisting spouses).

The General Supplementary Pension System statistics are based on the amounts submitted to the General Supplementary Pension System by employers at the end of a quarter. The statistics on individual employees of the General Supplementary Pension System are computed on the basis of information received from employers after the end of a calendar year. Since no contributions are paid for persons with less than 10 hours of work per week, and only one-third for 10-19 hours, two-thirds for 20-29 hours and full contribution for 30 hours or more, the statistics will indicate the number of persons who would be needed on a full-time basis if all of the part-time work were converted into full-time work.

The figures should therefore be viewed with caution, like the figures for the spring of 1984, seeing that changes may be due to other things than actual changes in the employment rate. Most recently, the labor market conflict in the spring of 1985 meant lower contributions to the General Supplementary Pension System, equivalent to a number of full-time employees of, perhaps, 15-20,000 during the second quarter of 1985.



The unemployment rate for women (seasonally adjusted) began to decline slightly as of the summer of 1985. The unemployment rate for men, however, has been declining for several years, except for the first couple of months of 1985.

- Key: 1. Unemployment percentage based on sex (seasonally adjusted)
 2. Percent
 3. Women
 4. Men

Outlook Good for 1986

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 13 Dec 85 Sec 3 p 9

[Article by Henrik Skov: "Federation of Danish Industries: Rate of Employment Increasing in 1986"]

[Text] According to the Federation of Danish Industries, the Independent Economic Advisory Council takes a far too gloomy view of the employment trends in this country. Contrary to the Independent Economic Advisory Council, the Federation of Danish Industries expects an increase in the rate of employment of 15,000 next year.

Contrary to the Independent Economic Advisory Council, the Federation of Danish Industries expects a declining rate of unemployment in 1986. The Federation of Danish Industries expects the unemployment rate to drop by approximately 15,000 from 1985 to 1986, as a result of which the average unemployment rate in 1986 will be 235,000.

The Federation of Danish Industries thus takes a considerably more optimistic view of the employment developments than the Independent Economic Advisory Council, which expects the number of unemployed next year to increase by approximately 20,000.

The prognosis made by the Federation of Danish Industries takes into account the economic policy adjustments agreed upon between the government and the Radical Liberal Party.

"In their computations in setting up their model, the Independent Economic Advisory Council has not taken into account that restraints within the public building sector provide scope for considerable expansions within the private sector," the architect of the prognosis of the Federation of Danish Industries, Verner Puggaard, chief economist, tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

"The declining dollar rate has already given an improvement in the terms of trade of 2 percent, equivalent to a favorable balance of payments effect of 3 billion kroner. This is one of the reasons why we expect the balance of payments deficit next year to be of the order of 15 billion kroner," says Verner Puggaard. He expects the deficit in 1985 to amount to approximately 23 billion kroner--exactly what the economists of the Central Bank had feared earlier in the year.

Industrial exports next year, which the Federation of Danish Industries expects to grow by 7-8 percent in volume as against an increase of 5 percent in 1985, contribute to bringing about the improvement in the balance of payments situation.

The Federation of Danish Industries, furthermore, expects the increase in investments to continue next year. Industrial investments are expected to

increase by 15 percent from 1985 to 1986, and, according to Verner Puggaard, investments within the industrial sector have been of such a magnitude that industrial investments in 1986 will be approximately twice as large as in 1983. As a result of the larger investments, the rate of employment within the industrial sector will in 1986 be more than 40,000 higher than the 1983 level.

The Federation of Danish Industries expects the increase in consumer prices to amount to 2.5 percent next year. Should this prognosis prove to be correct, it will be the lowest rate of inflation recorded in the last 25 years.

It is quite well possible that the 15 billion kroner balance of payments deficit projected by the Federation of the Danish Industries for 1986 may be on the large side. Developments in the dollar rate of exchange and in the international oil market remain an unpredictable and decisive factor. In its prognosis, the Federation of Danish Industries expects a somewhat unchanged oil price in terms of dollars throughout 1986.

Employment and Unemployment 1982-86

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
	-----1000-----				
Labor force	2684	2706	2757	2770	2785
Number of employed	2421	2423	2481	2520	2550
Private sector ¹⁾	1675	1670	1727	1760	1785
Public sector ²⁾	746	753	754	760	765
Unemployment	263	283	276	250	235

1) Including the Danish State Railways, the Postal and Telecommunications Services as well as Public Works.

2) Not including the Danish State Railways, the Postal and Telecommunications Services and Public Works.

7262

CSO: 3613/46

DIRECTOR OF GRONLANDS HANDEL VOWS NEW OPERATING BASIS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 5 Feb 86 Sect III p 28

[Article by Erik Bendt Rasmussen: "New Grønlands Handel [Greenland Trading Company] Will Yield Profit"]

[Text] After having existed on government subsidies, Grønlands Handel, which has been transferred to the Home Rule Government, will now be commercial and profitable. "We are not morally obligated to trade in Denmark," says Henrik Hjerl, the new director of Grønlands Handel. The possibilities are to be studied for alternative buying.

The new Grønlands Handel company will, after separation from the Danish State on 1 January of this year, be made into a commercial, profitable company. This is the Home Rule Government's goal. Responsibility has been transferred to the newly hired administrative director, Henrik Hjerl, 36 years old, heading 3500 employees in Greenland and Denmark.

The former Kongelige Grønlandske Handel [Royal Greenland Trade Board], which has been transferred to the Home Rule Government, of course established strong trade ties with Danish firms from the year of its founding in 1774. But after the Home Rule Government replaced the royal crown and coat of arms with a logo consisting of a red four-pointed pole star with two blue crossed harpoons, and the Home Rule Government took over the big trading company, Grønlands Handel has no moral obligations to buy in South Denmark.

Grønlands Handel Has Profit

"For this reason it is incumbent upon us to study the possibilities of purchasing alternative products, but our old trade ties can certainly count on continued cooperation. Grønlaenderhavnen [Greenlanders Port] in Aalborg is still the port of disembarkation for our fleet. The merchandise, when it arrives in Greenland, must be distributed to 50,000 people at up to 80 locations. Many times it is in small lots, because the population figure is equivalent to that of a large Danish provincial town, so it is far from every firm which wants to supply us," Director Henrik Hjerl says. At the same time as the Home Rule Government took over Grønlands Handel, which is called Kalaallit Nuerfiat in the mother tongue, the deficit-producing production

operation was separated into a new company, Pro-Ex. So now Grønlands Handel has a profit of just under 60 million kroner.

The deficit in the production operation was due to many factors; for example, to failing cod catches; the boycott of seal skins, because Brigitte Bardot could attract greater attention than the seal hunters' cries of distress; difficulties in selling salted and dried fish products; and falling shrimp prices.

"Whereas the old Royal Greenland Trade Board received subsidies from the Danish State to cover the production operation's losses, we do not need subsidies. With separation from production, we are yielding a profit, which is to be invested in better service and in addition will help to moderate prices. There will also be a question of a price drop, which we will cover with the profit. This is a reasonable way to use part of the profits, because this practice will have an inflation-moderating effect," Henrik Hjerl says, who does not have a domicile in Copenhagen, as the former director did.

The administrative director moved into one of the trade firm's buildings in Godthaab, but flies several times a month to Copenhagen, where the administration department, economics department, personnel department, data processing department, supply operation, and the Greenland Postal Service still are, with the transportation operation still in Aalborg.

Severe Winters and Harsh Conditions

"The longterm plan is to move the entire Grønlands Handel home, but this cannot take place here and now. So many functions and coworkers cannot be moved on short notice because of problems in Greenland with getting new buildings for the administration and housing. All employees know this, and all who are newly hired are made aware of the fact that a time will come when they are offered to move to Greenland. The future will show to what extent Grønlands Handel establishes representation in Denmark," Henrik Hjerl says.

Henrik Hjerl came on 1 January from the Convest Consult consulting firm, which works for the retail trade. Henrik Hjerl has formerly been in the Industry Council and Foreign Affairs Ministry with international trade as his main area.

Henrik Hjerl does not want to directly compare Grønlands Handel with the internationally famous Hudson Bay Company of Canada, but there is somewhat of a similarity.

The climate produces harsh conditions and severe winters last long into the year and inconvenience daily life and functions for people, transportation and business. It is rough conditions which both companies must combat and create a profit from.

One of the impending duties for Henrik Hjerl will be to plan further education of Grønlands Handel's leaders, because the company is no longer a protected

State concern. It is necessary to go out into the free market and buy, as do all other trading firms.

In 1985 Grønlands Handel had a scant three billion kroner in sales, and the supply division alone had two billion kroner in sales. The supply and transportation division, working together, must see to it that merchandise reaches the smallest localities.

Here every summer it is necessary to buy for over a half year in advance, because, largely speaking, the winter excludes further supplies of goods thenceforth until close to the next summer. It is necessary to think of everything, from yeast and adhesive bandages to warm underwear and cartridges. Also, purchases of eggs. They can last a very long time, because the store manager at the trading station turns the eggs every 14 days--but Director Henrik Hjerl answers for this.

The former Royal Greenland Trade Board had a limitation to development in the retail trade. This was due to the fact that Danish governments thought that the private sector should expand. So the Royal Greenland Trade Board had to hold back. But no longer. Grønlands Handel intends to expand with new stores.

"I think that it is a big challenge to become director of Grønlands Handel. This is not mere words on my part, because there really is a basis for them. It is fantastically exciting to take part in converting this firm from State operation. And the Greenlanders feel that it is their firm. Thereby we have a solidarity situation. It turns out in practice that not a single person in Greenland can avoid coming into daily contact or communication with Grønlands Handel. It is also we who have always seen to it that the price level was held down. For example, there are uniform prices everywhere. The price of a kilogram of sugar is the same in Godthaab and at a trading post, although it is much more expensive to transport merchandise over longer distances," Henrik Hjerl says.

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SOCIALIST ECONOMIC LEGACY REVIEWED

Paris LE FIGARO MAGAZINE in France 4 Jan 86 pp 106-107

[Article by Philippe Vasseur]

[Text] After them, the deluge! The proof that the Socialists have already lost the legislative elections lies in the fact that they are doing their best to postpone every possible problem until after March 1986.

They even seem to be taking a perverse pleasure in presenting a misleading record which conceals the deadly traps they have set for their successors.

Left ignored, the economic time bombs that will explode next year may cause irreparable damage for the next legislature. It is therefore necessary to locate these bombs and their targets in order to defuse them.

This task is a preliminary to a government program designed to spur France's economic recovery.

How to guard against the explosions planned by the Socialists? There is one defense. As soon as the new National Assembly is elected, it must immediately prepare a report on France's economic condition to reveal the traps that have been set in its path.

This "state of the nation," this inventory of the legacy should be prepared, argued and adopted by the Parliament.

In order to sidestep the bombs, the terrain must be marked out. It is up to the elected representatives to post signs in the right places: "Warning, danger, firetrap!"

Budget: A Misleading Deficit

With a deficit that has grown continuously since 1981, the state of the nation's finances has deteriorated. But the Left will soon leave behind a situation which is even worse than the situation it insists on officially depicting, using window-dressing techniques that have been denounced by the Accounting Office.

For example, "debudgetization" has become a common practice. How does one make already significant deficit appear smaller? There is a simple way if one gives

the question some thought. And if one dares. One takes an expenditure posted in the government budget and transfers it elsewhere: to Social Security, to the local municipalities or to the separate PTT [Postan and Telecommunications Bureau] budget. It doesn't matter where. What is important is that this sleight of hand escapes the notice of the taxpayer, who will pay in the final analysis but who must be tricked into perceiving that the government is not sinking deeper into "the hole."

If the composition of the budget had remained the same as in 1981, the deficit projected for 1986 would exceed the maximum established by financial law by Fr50 billion! And, during the past years, the government has already proven its inability to respect its own budget projections.

For 1986, the surprises are likely to prove particularly unpleasant, since certain expenditures were deliberately underestimated or calculated in an "optimistic" manner. This is true for the public debt service expenditure. And for government employee salaries: their one pay review (scheduled for February, coincidentally) is insufficient to allow their purchasing power to keep pace with inflation. It is one way among so many others to stir up discontent in advance so as to hinder the future government.

This budgetary time bomb was set by the Socialists for a dual purpose: to brake the advances of proponents of reduction of a deficit that is in fact more serious than it is reported to be and to immediately restrict any possibility of tax cuts--two of the opposition's stated priorities.

Social Security: An Underestimated "Hole"

A similar trap has been set for Social Security which has posted a far from commendable performance this year. Some budget items (particularly in the area of hospitals) were postponed, so that expenses scheduled for 1985 will be carried over into 1986.

The deficit officially projected for next year was greatly underestimated following an ascerbic discussion between Pierre Beregovoy and Georgina Dufoix. The main concern of the Minister of Economy and Finance was to show an advantageous budgetary performance on the eve of the elections, while his counterpart at the Ministry of Social Affairs fears justified accusations of tampering with the figures. The former won the battle and obtained that the "outlook" reported was three times less than the Fr30 billion anticipated by the experts, mainly because of the imbalance in the "old age branch" which is supporting the effects of the lowered retirement age.

Once the elections are over, the new government will have to deal with the most urgent issues before it can make more fundamental changes. The purpose of the current move is to conceal liabilities which at worst may force the future leaders to once again resort to a "special increase" to fill the gap. This is an added difficulty which may delay reductions in compulsory withholding (income and payroll taxes) which even now represent an excessive burden as a percentage of national production.

Public Debt: Still Growing

An aggravating situation: the deficit created by public debt forces those who incur this debt to borrow. Government borrowing on the domestic market thus reached Fr100 billion in 1985. The side effects of this debt were sustained high interest rates and the appropriation of funds that could have been allocated for business. Both effects penalize investment and are therefore detrimental to economic activity.

Public debt service is taking a growing share of the government budget. Prior to the Socialist rise to power, it represented less than 5 percent of normal expenditures.

Interest on the public debt will cost approximately Fr100 billion in 1985. In other words, for every Fr100 of taxes (of any kind) paid to the government, Fr10 go directly to debt service. This is the result of excessive spending on credit.

But the Left can be blamed for something even worse. In 1983, it floated a renewable Treasury bond issue with interest payable when the bonds reached maturity...6 years after their date of issue, that is, beginning in 1989. This is just another way to make others pay for their costly errors.

Foreign Debt: More and More

And the above deals only with debt incurred by the government itself. Unfortunately, the administration has also encouraged publicly owned enterprises to borrow abroad from foreign lenders, with government backing.

Since the Left came into power, France's foreign debt has grown continuously. It stood at \$26.9 billion at the beginning of 1981. By the end of 1983, it had reached \$53.7 billion.

"It must be recognized that France has reached the limits of its ability to borrow if it does not want to find itself in a situation that will simultaneously compromise its standard of living at home and its margin for maneuvering, its independence abroad," admitted Jacques Delors on 20 October 1983 before the National Assembly.

But the practice did not cease. The sideslipping continued and by the end of the third quarter of 1985, foreign debt reached \$59.7 billion.

Emboldened by the healthy conditions that greeted them upon their arrival to power, the Socialists borrowed indiscriminately. Before their time, we lent more money abroad than we borrowed. Today, the situation has been reversed: we owe far more than we are owed. Before their time, our gold and hard currency reserves were substantially greater than our debts. Now, the opposite is true.

The most alarming part is not the size of our foreign debt--this by itself could be considered to be bearable--but it is the very short time in which it

ballooned. Because as a function of this brief time, reimbursement of principal and payment of interest are concentrated over a short period. The installments are therefore more difficult to meet.

The annual debt service on foreign borrowing will reach nearly Fr100 billion. In order to acquire like amounts of hard currency, we would have to sell far more abroad than we purchase. We are unfortunately far from achieving this state. Our foreign trade deficit still hovered around Fr20 billion in 1985 while the government had projected a surplus of Fr3 billion. The restrictions and fees that burden French businesses make them less competitive. We therefore continue to sideslip.

The public debt and the foreign debt are two more formidable time bombs that the Left will leave for its successors--more obstacles in the path of recovery.

Currency: A Poisoned Apple

The foreign debt handicap is likely to be further exacerbated if the franc weakens since most of the loans--and therefore most of the reimbursements--are denominated in hard currency.

Although our currency is performing relatively well at this time --and the high interest rates paid on capital are a contributing factor--the question of its value within the EMS (European Monetary System) remains unanswered.

Indeed, since the last devaluation of the franc in March 1983, the cumulative inflation spread between our nation and its principal economic partner, West Germany, has reached 13 points. This type of disparity cannot continue indefinitely without certain consequences. But in its attempt to sidestep the disastrous effects of a fourth devaluation by the Legislature, the Socialists are trying to hold off until March 1986--digging into the reserves if need be--and to leave this poisoned apple for their successors.

And the rate of inflation in France remains at twice the rate prevailing in Germany. The reports of good performance should not obscure this fact.

Inflation: The Broken Down Motor

It is the slowdown of world economic growth, the decline of the dollar, lower prices for oil and raw materials that make France's performance in terms of prices seem relatively good. However, in the other major industrial nations, disinflation occurred in an environment of economic freedom; in France, conversely, prices continue to be controlled and fixed, even though "liberalization" has been introduced at the industrial stage.

One more time bomb: lost time to be caught up. Since prices are artificially held down by the government, they are compressed like a spring which must uncoil some day.

Paradox: Although it needed to implement a policy of austerity to avoid disaster, the left did exactly the opposite of what it promised, conceding to

deindexing of wages, thus eroding household purchasing power two years in a row (1983 and 1984).

This was the cost for the slowdown in price increases. However, this brake on domestic demand, following the crazy "recovery through consumption" of the years 1981-1982, did not adequately rebuild foreign trade. This is a patent failure and a serious concern for the future. One more bomb that will need to be defused.

In addition, this brutal turn of the screw struck a blow to economic activity. Before 1981, France's growth ranked second (after Japan) among the major industrial nations; it is now in last place. Because of the Socialists, we have been left in the dust in terms of expansion. A sorry legacy.

Employment: A Large Mass of Unemployed

Because of this slow growth, jobs disappeared by the hundreds of thousands. Under the previous administration, the number of workers of "Enterprise France" grew by nearly 400,000. Under the leadership of the Left, more than 600,000 jobs were lost. Today, there are fewer jobs in France than there were in 1981, and even 1974.

Unemployment has therefore skyrocketed, despite the false promises made by Francois Mitterand during his presidential campaign and in spite of the window dressing used to minimize the number of job seekers on the official unemployment statistics.

Today, there are 2.5 million reported unemployed and an additional 500,000 individuals temporarily classified as "surplus employees" on CFR (job training leave) or temporarily "occupied" in community service work (TUC).

This large force of unemployed workers will rejoin the labor market when the temporary measures expire. When is this due to occur? Coincidentally, for many of these people, in 1986. This is the deadliest time bomb invented by a Left which has proven that its ability to destroy far outweighs its capacity to build.

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FIGURES REVEAL FOREIGN INVESTMENTS UP SUBSTANTIALLY

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 15 Jan 86 p 7

[Text] Direct foreign investments in Portugal showed an increase of 53.2 percent in 1985 as compared to the preceding year, Foreign Investment Institute figures show. They indicate that the capital invested on our national territory by foreigners in 1985 totaled 42.3 million contos, as compared to 27.6 million in 1984.

The investment level showed a trend from one year to the next which suggests what the main economic flow in the coming years might be. Community investment tripled, while the United States of America and the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] countries showed a substantial decline, of 35 and 16 percent, respectively.

In terms of groups of countries, it was the EEC which invested most in Portugal in the year just past (27.6 million contos), followed by the United States (6.2 million) and the EFTA countries (3 million).

Within the Community group, the United Kingdom invested 17.6 million, as compared to 2.6 in 1984, a figure which was multiplied almost 7 times; France invested 3.5 million, as compared to 3.2; the Netherlands 2.1, as compared to 1.1 million; Belgium 1.9, as compared to 199,000 contos; and the FRG 1.5, as compared to 1.1.

In 1984, in turn, investments came mainly, and in order of decreasing importance, from France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, the FRG and Ireland.

With regard to the EFTA countries, which showed a similar individual level of decline in relation to 1984, Switzerland was a nation which invested most in Portugal (2.3 million contos), followed by Sweden, Norway, Finland and Austria.

Investments by Macac in our national territory showed an increase of about 56 percent, close to the 55 percent increase in Spanish capital.

Foreign investments went mainly to the following sectors: banking and other monetary and financial institutions (8.9 million contos), paper industries

(8.6 million), chemical industries (4.3 million), the manufacture of metal and machine products, transportation and installation equipment, restaurants and hotels, and the food, beverage and tobacco industries.

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